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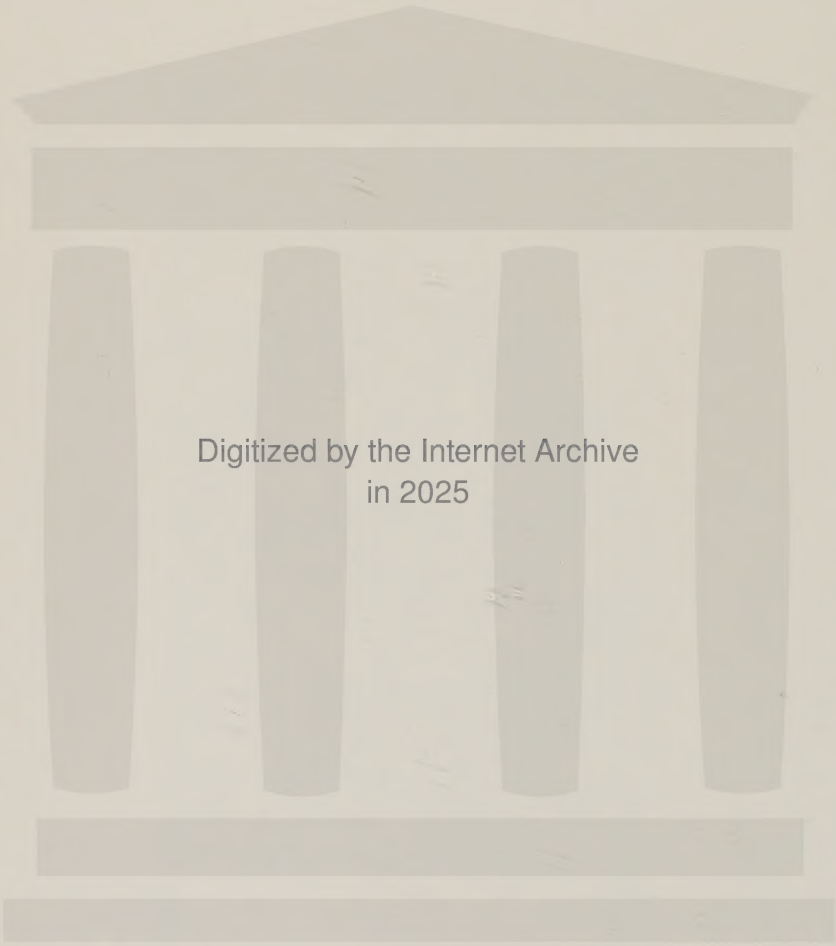

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The Mennonite Quarterly Review

Editor
HAROLD S. BENDER, TH. D. *Goshen College*

Associate Editors

ERNST CORRELL, Ph. D.
American University

CHRISTIAN NEFF, D. Theol.
Weierhof, Germany

BENJAMIN UNRUH, Lic. Theol.
Karlsruhe, Germany

GUY F. HERSHBERGER, Ph. D.
Goshen College

EDWARD YODER, Ph. D.
Goshen College

JOHN UMBLE, M. A.
Goshen College

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VOLUME X JANUARY 1936 NUMBER 1

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VOLUME X NUMBER 1

The Mennonite Quarterly Review

JANUARY 1936

EDITORIAL

This year, 1936, is a Menno Simons year, for it marks the 400th anniversary of Menno's renunciation of the papal church, and his acceptance of the leadership of the Dutch Anabaptists who had gathered around Obbe and Dirk Philips. The ministry which Menno thus undertook was a most difficult one, one whose earnest character he fully recognized as a "heavy cross," not in the sense of a burdensome obligation, but one that the times and the circumstances made a genuine "taking of the cross of our Lord." The significance of this courageous step, taken in the fear of God and with a resolve never to turn back, can scarcely be over-estimated. What might have happened to the Dutch and the North German Anabaptist Brethren had Menno remained in the Catholic church can only be guessed. As it was, under the providence of God, Menno Simons was the right man at the right time to shepherd the scattered and smitten but courageous flock of those brethren in the northern regions who desired with all their heart to follow the true and peaceful gospel of Christ in complete obedience to the Scripture and build a church after the New Testament pattern. Not without right have the Brethren since his time been named after him, "Mennonites." Despite his deficiencies, Menno Simons was clearly the greatest figure produced by the entire Anabaptist movement of the 16th century. His legacy of spirit and teaching may well be cherished by those who bear his name today. Dr. Cornelius Krahn, who has given us the newest picture of Menno and his theology in a doctoral dissertation at the University of Heidelberg, gives a brief tribute to Menno's memory with an admirable summary of the great event of 1536, Menno's conversion, and its significance for the Anabaptist-Mennonite Movement in the centuries that have passed since that day.

One of the greatest dangers that faced Dutch-North German Anabaptism in its infancy was the terrible temptation to follow in the path of revolutionary chiliastic radicalism which was advocated and practiced by Jan Matthys and Jan van Leiden, and which was carried to its logical, catastrophic conclusion in the tragedy of Münster. Many of the common folk of the day were irresistibly drawn into the swift-rushing stream, folk who would otherwise have followed sane leaders like Obbe Philips. One of the things that awoke Menno Simons to the full realization of his responsibility before God was the knowledge that hundreds of earnest but misguided souls were being carried off to destruction in the Münster movement. John Horsch, well known to the readers of the Review for his thorough and well-documented studies in early Anabaptist history, sets forth convincingly Menno Simons' attitude toward the Münsterite movement in his article by that name in this issue. It is passing strange that some supposedly well-informed modern scholars have become confused on this point, and have supposed that Menno had anything but abhorrence for the grievous error of the Münsterites.

It is eleven years since the Quadricentennial of the founding of the Swiss Brethren in Zurich in 1525, when Conrad Grebel and his friends stepped out by faith upon an uncharted course of absolute allegiance to what they considered to be the New Testament pattern for personal and social life and for the church. The desire that was expressed at the time of the Quadricentennial for an exhaustive biography of Grebel has at last been fulfilled, and with it the promise of such a work which has appeared a number of times in the editorials of the Review. It is expected that the biography will appear during the year 1936 in two volumes, one containing the text, and one the sources in the form of Grebel's extant letters and writings. The book was submitted as a doctoral dissertation at the University of Heidelberg by Harold S. Bender, of the editorial staff of the Review. The Review will publish at least two substantial sections of the work in the January and April numbers, with the possibility of further instalments later.

One of the characteristic features of American life in recent years is the growth of a strong peace movement. The strongest wing of this movement at the present time is no doubt that which professes a pacifism based on religious motives. Just what contribution this religious pacifism will finally make, or what it will

(Continued on page 87)

CONRAD GREBEL, THE FIRST LEADER OF THE SWISS BRETHREN (Anabaptists)

I

Youth and Early University Years

HAROLD S. BENDER

FOREWORD

Conrad Grebel as Seen by His Contemporaries

The only contemporary account of the origin of the Swiss Brethren is that found in the chronicles of the Hutterian Brethren.[1] It apparently became a part of the tradition of the Hutterites through George Blaurock,[2] who was a participant in the very beginnings in Zurich, and who spent his last days (d. 1529) preaching in the Tyrol, after having been driven from Switzerland. The brethren in the Tyrol to whom Blaurock ministered later fled to Moravia. There, under the leadership of Jacob Hutter (d. 1535), the brotherhood was organized on the basis of Christian communism, and later came to be called the Hutterian Brethren.

It is remarkable that the Hutterian Brethren themselves, although they came from Austria and the Tyrol as their chronicles testify, placed the origin of their brotherhood in Zurich. This they would certainly not have done if they had not had connections with the brethren in Switzerland through Blaurock and others. The chronicles of the brotherhood were begun as early as 1534 by Caspar Braitmichel, who wrote a history of the brotherhood from 1524-1534, and who continued the chronicle to the year 1542.[3] The ac-

1. *Geschicht-Buch der Hutterischen Brüder. Hersg. von den Hutterischen Brüdern in Amerika, Canada, durch Prof. Dr. Rudolf Wolkan,* 1923, *Standoff Colony bei Macleod, Alberta, Canada.* Gedruckt und in Kommission bei Carl Fromme, GmbH. Vienna. Subtitle: *Geschicht-Buch und kurzer Durchgang vom Anfang der Welt, wie Gott sein Werk in seinem Volk auf Erden angericht, gehandelt und getrieben hat; demnach: Unserer Gemein-Geschicht-Buch.* The account of the beginnings in Zurich is found on pp. 34, 35.

2. On Blaurock, who came in May, 1529, from Switzerland to Tyrol, and was burned at the stake at Klausen, Aug. 30, 1529, see Fritz Jecklin, *Jörg Blaurock vom Hause Jacob, Ein Märtyrer der Wiedertäufer* in *XXI. Jahresber. der historisch-antiq. Gesellschaft von Graubünden, Jahrg.* 1891 Chur, S. 1-20; Joseph Beck, *George Blaurock und die Anfänge des Anabaptismus in Graubünden und Tirol. Aus seinem Nachlass hrsg. von Joh. Loserth* in *Vorträge und Aufsätze aus der Comeniusgesellschaft, 7. Jg.* 1. *u.* 2. *Stück,* Berlin 1898, pp. 295ff; Christian Neff, article *Blaurock* in *Mennonitisches Lexikon. Bd. I,* Frankfurt a. M. u. Weierhof (Pfalz) 1913, pp. 227-334.

3. Braitmichel's own testimony as to his work is found in the "Vorrede" to the *Geschichtbuch der Hutterischen Brüder,* p. XL: "Nun solches alles hab ich bei glaub-

count of the origin of the brotherhood in Zurich which is contained in Braitmichel's chronicle could not have been taken from documentary sources, for such materials did not exist at that early date.[4]

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haften Menschen auf allerlei Weis ja bei denen, so mit und bei gewesen sind, mich nicht lassen verdriessen zu erkundigen: auch was ich selbst in guter und gewisser Erfahrung hab, das hab ich auf das allerfleissigest zusammentragen, und das in aller Einfältigkeit ohne alle hochprächtige Wort. Nun aber, weil ich es vonwegen Blödigkeit des Gesichts und des Leibs Schwachheit nicht vermag zum End zu bringen, sondern nur bisher auf das zwei und vierzigst Jahr der mindern Zahl, da dem Bruder Leonhard Lanzenstil die Gemein befohlen ist wurden, geführt hätt, so leb ich doch in der Hoffnung, Gott werde andern Ursach geben, solches noch viel fleissiger zum Vollkommensten auszuführen."

It is not possible to determine when Braitmichel began his chronicle or when he ended it. Nor can it be said with certainty whether he wrote it as a continuous production at some time after 1542, or whether he began to write it at some time before 1542, and continued it from that time forward to 1542 as a periodical chronicle. Braitmichel, who died February 27, 1573 (Cf. *Geschichtbuch,* p. 362) was ordained "Diener der Notdurft" Nov. 1, 1538 (*op. cit.,* p. 143) and "Diener des Worts" in 1548 (*op. cit.,* p. 242). Since he signs the "Vorrede" as "Kaspar Braitmichel, ein Diener Jesu Christi und seiner Gemein," he must have completed his part of the chronicle between 1538 and 1573. The Primatialbibliothek in Gran, Hungary, possesses a manuscript known as *Codex Braitmichel,* which bears the title *Geschichte der Gemeinde 1524-1534.* Dr. Robert Friedmann of Vienna, who has examined the manuscript, believes that it is practically identical with the first part of the "Geschichtbuch." If so, the fact that it was circulated as a separate codex suggests that it was written as an independent chronicle in 1534.

4. The same account of the beginnings of the Anabaptist movement in Zurich is found in the Dutch language at three other places, printed in (A) *Successio Anabaptistica,* Coloniae, 1603, fol. 19-22 (reprinted in *Bibliotheca Reformatoria Neerlandica, VII,* pp. 24, 25, s'Gravenhage, 1910) and in (B) Carel von Gent's *Het Beginsel en Voortganck der geschillen scheurigen en verdeeltheden onder de gene die Doopsgesenden genoemt worden,* Amsterdam, 1658 (written in 1615) fol. 3, 4 (reprinted in *B. R. N. VII,* pp. 515, 516), and in manuscript (C) in a codex which is in possession of the Mennonite Church of Heubuden near Marienburg in West Prussia. In all three sources, the account is found in the form of a letter addressed, apparently by the Swiss Brethren, to the Brethren at Cologne (Keulen). A careful examination of the three sources has led to the following conclusions: 1.) (C) is a manuscript copy of the printed (A); 2.) (A) and (B) represent two variant translations of an original German letter. A further careful comparison between the Dutch translations and the German account in the *Geschichtbuch* has led to the following conclusions: 1.) since the two Dutch translations are practically identical in content, but variant in form (choice of words, punctuation, spelling, etc.) they cannot possibly be two copies of one Dutch original, but must be independent translations; 2.) the German form in the *Geschichtbuch* cannot possibly be a translation from the Dutch. (The second conclusion was to be expected, since the letter purports to have been written by the Swiss Brethren, who would scarcely have used the Dutch language); 3.) the comparison between the letter and the account in the *Geschichtbuch* proves further clearly that the original German letter must have been an extract from the *Geschichtbuch,* and not vice versa. It is scarcely possible that the original letter was composed by Swiss Brethren (which by the way is merely asserted by the two Dutch historians who reprinted the letter, and is not indicated in the letter itself), for the writers of the letter refer to the Swiss Brethren in the third person, as they would scarcely have done if they were referring to themselves, unless indeed they simply copied out of a book which they were using, such as the *Geschichtbuch.* But it is very unlikely that the Swiss Brethren had a copy of the Hutterian chronicle for use, since there was strong competition between the two groups. Furthermore the name "Swiss Brethren" was originated and used by the Hutterites, not by the Swiss Anabaptists themselves. We are led to the conclusion therefore that the letter was written by Hutterites and not by Swiss Brethren. This conclusion is fortified by the fact that (B), which is a careful and literal translation of the *Geschichtbuch,* states that the letter was written in response to an original request from the brethren "tot Ceulen." The most likely explanation of the whole affair is the following: some Hutterian itinerant apos-

Yet it is so true to the facts, so vivid in detail, that it must be an eyewitness account. The prominent part played by George Blaurock in the action justifies the inference that the account goes back to the personal tradition of Blaurock himself. This is further rendered plausible by the fact that when he left Switzerland, Blaurock was a leader among the brethren in the Tyrol until his martyrdom in 1529, and without doubt related to them the stirring story of the early history of the brotherhood in Switzerland.

The important point in this unique contemporary account of the beginnings in Zurich is that Conrad Grebel and Felix Manz are viewed as the originators of the movement, as the ones who first broke away from Zwingli, and with whom Blaurock later associated himself. Of equal importance is the fact that in the very significant meeting in which adult baptism was introduced, Blaurock recognized Grebel as the leader of the group by asking Grebel to baptize him. It is clear from this account that the Brethren considered Conrad Grebel to be the first leader of the movement, and they did so as early as 1534, the year in which the report was written, only nine years after the beginning in 1525.[5]

A further confirmation of this important ancient tradition of the Brethren is found in the unpublished minutes of the very important discussion held at Bern, Switzerland, in 1538 between certain leaders of the Brethren and representative preachers of the Reformed Church.[6] At this meeting thirty-five brethren from the Canton of Bern together with five brethren from other cantons, were thoroughly examined by three Reformed preachers of Bern in the presence of many other clergymen. In the course of the discussion, one of the Brethren[7] related how he had come to join the group. He testified that he had come to a knowledge of the truth by the preaching of Conrad Grebel. One of the preachers asked the brother the question: "What church commissioned the first Anabaptist or Grebel to preach?" Thereupon the brother answered: "Grebel

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tles came into contact with the brethren at Cologne and told them about the congregations in the South and Southeast, whereupon the Cologne brethren requested a brief account of the origins of the brotherhood in the South. The Hutterites complied with this request by extracting the account from the *Geschichtbuch,* and sending it in a letter to Cologne. The conclusion of the letter to Cologne is noteworthy, "Also hebt ghy die ghetuygenisee des beginsels, daer unne suht ghy geenen twyffel hebben, want wy dit op het alder gewiste erwaren hebben."

5. The complete account is reproduced in chapter XI of this Manuscript.

6. *Acta Des gesprächs zwüschenn predikanten Unnd Touffbruderenn Erganngen, Inn der Statt Bernn von xi Mertzenns, bisz uf den xvii Desselben Manats Im M. D. XXXVIIIt. Jar. Unnütze Papiere,* Bd. 80, Staatsarchiv Bern. The extract quoted is taken from page 35 of a typewritten copy of the original manuscript prepared by Dr. Adolph Fluri of Bern.

7. The name of the brother is unknown.

was the first one to teach me, and I perceived that he himself believed what he taught, and that he lived according to it. Therefore I accepted him as one commissioned by God." This brother, it is clear, counted Grebel as the first leader of the Brethren, a witness to the truth by word and by life, whose powerful testimony still stood out brightly in his memory, although Grebel had been dead for twelve years.

It is clear then that the oldest traditions of the Swiss Brethren represent Grebel as the first leader of the movement, "the first Anabaptist." The fact that his name soon disappeared out of the tradition of the Brethren does not speak against the validity of the earliest tradition, for this happened to all the early leaders of the Swiss Brethren, to Manz, Blaurock, Marbeck, and the others. Only Michael Sattler remained in part a living figure in the tradition, due to the fact that the account of his martyrdom was printed almost immediately after his death and was frequently reprinted.[8] It is regrettable that the Swiss Brethren kept no chronicles as did the Hutterites. Until 1934 they had not even produced a history of the group by one of their own number.[9]

Conrad Grebel was recognized as the leader of the Swiss Brethren, not only by his brethren, but also by his contemporary enemies. Many references can be cited to prove this fact. In a letter to Oecolampad and others dated November 29, 1526, Zwingli calls him the "ringleader" ("coryphaeus") of the Anabaptists.[10] In a letter to Vadian dated Jan. 19, 1525, shortly after the great debate with the brethren, he says, "Conrad Grebel and a few other less important persons are holding fast to their standpoint."[11] Again on March 31, 1525 he writes to Vadian, "Grebel is with us just now, and is drawing all whom he can to his party."[12] Felix Manz, by contrast, is not once mentioned by name in Zwingli's letters, while Blaurock is mentioned only once, and then as having been imprisoned along with Grebel.[13]

The contemporary Swiss chroniclers also reflect the common

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8. *Brüderliche Vereinigung etzlicher Kinder Gottes sieben Artikel betreffend. Item ein Sendbrief Michael Sattlers an eine gemeine Gottes samt seinem Martyrium,* 1527.

9. (Samuel Geiser), *Die Taufgesinnten-Gemeinden, Eine kurzgefasste Darstellung der Wichtigsten Ereignisse des Täufertums,* Karlsruhe, 1931.

10. *Huldreich Zwinglis Sämtliche Werke: Corpus Reformatorum Bd.* 88-98. Berlin (später Leipzig). Bd. VIII, Leipzig, 1914, p. 780. Hereafter cited as *Zwingli Werke.*

11. *Zwingli Werke VIII,* 296.

12. *Ibid.,* 313.

13. *Ibid.,* 382.

impression that Conrad Grebel was the founder and leader of the Swiss Brethren. Fridolin Sicher refers to him as "Conrad Grebel, who accomplished much in the sect."[14] Johannes Kessler calls him "the arch-anabaptist."[15] Bernhard Wyss, strange to say, mentions the Anabaptist movement only in connection with the drowning of Felix Manz, when he speaks of "this Manz, also Blaurock and Conrad Grebel, who had died earlier, and their adherents."[16] Johann Stumpf lists Grebel as the first in his catalog of the "chief of their teachers."[17] The other Swiss chroniclers do not mention the Anabaptist leaders.[18]

Contemporary and later historians do not present a common conception of the beginnings of the movement. Sebastian Franck, for instance, in his "Chronica, Zeytbuch and Geschichts-Bibel" mentions none of the Swiss Brethren leaders by name, neither Grebel, Manz, Blaurock, nor others. For him apparently the South German semi-anabaptists, such as Hubmaier, Denck, Hetzer, Rinck and Hut, are the leaders.[19] It is worthy of note that Heinrich Bullinger does not mention a single Anabaptist leader by name in his two books

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14. *Fridolin Sichers Chronik, Herausgegeben von Ernst Götzinger (Mitteilungen zur vaterländischen Geschichte. Herausgegeben vom historischen Verein in St. Gallen, Neue Folge,* 10. *Heft)* St. Gall, 1885, p. 193.

15. *Johannes Kesslers Sabbata mit kleineren Schriften und Briefen. Unter Mitwirkung von Emil Egli und Rudolph Schoch, herausgegeben vom historischen Verein des Kantons St. Gallen.* St. Gall, 1902, pp. 142, 143, 314. At three other places Grebel, Felix Manz, and George Blaurock are called arch-anabaptists, "Erzwidertouffer."

16. *Die Chronik des Bernhard Wyss,* 1519-1530. Herausgegeben von Georg Finsler, Basel, 1901 (*Quellen zur schweizerischen Reformationsgeschichte I. Herausgegeben vom Zwingliverein in Zürich unter Leitung von Emil Egli*) p. 79.

17. Johann Stumpf: *Chronica vom Leben und Wirken des Ulrich Zwingli. (Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte der helvetischen Kirche, Band I, herausgegeben von Dr. Leo Weiss) Zweite Auflage,* Zurich, 1932, p. 69. "Die furnemisten unter iren lerern warend: Conrad Grebel, Felix Mantz, Georg vom Hus-Jacob von Chur genant Blowrock und andere."

18. Bosshart, Edlibach, Pellican, Herman Miles. *Die Chronik des Hermann Miles (Mitteilungen zur vaterländischen Geschichte. Herausgegeben vom Historischen Verein in St. Gallen, XXVIII.)* St. Gall (1902), names only Conrad Grebel of the Zurich Anabaptists, p. 309. One section heading reads, "Von doctor Baltasar [Hubmaier] Pfarer zu Waldshut, der widertoffer erster lerer, und siner geselschaft," but it is not certain whether this heading is by Miles himself or whether it was added in 1571 by Magnus Maurer. The latter is more probable.

19. Sebastian Franck, *Chronika. Zeytbuch und Geschÿchtbibel von anbegyn bisz inn diez gegenwertig M.D. XXI. jar.,* 1531 (later editions 1536, 1543), folio 444 verso: "Deren Vorsteher und bischoff waren erstlich Huebmör, Melchior Rinck, Johannes Hut, Johannes Denk, Ludwig Hetzer." Folio 440 verso: "Entstünde eine neüwe Sect die widerteuffer genant. Under diesen war Johannes Denck . . . yr vorsteher und bischoff." Later Franck also mentions Michael Sattler, but Grebel and the Swiss leaders are not mentioned. Franck apparently conceived of the movement primarily as South and Middle German in character and not Swiss, although he gives evidence that he had read Bullinger's (1531) book against the Anabaptists. Cf. Franck, *op. cit.,* folio 405, recto, "von dem unverschämten fräfel" and folio 447, recto "Articuli Uldarii Zwinglii wider den bapst und vil andere Sect."

dealing with the movement.[20] Only in his History of the Reformation does he refer to individuals, and here Grebel stands at the head of the list, "Grebel, Manz, and other restless spirits."[21] Urbanus Rhegius names only Hans Denck.[22] The North German polemic writers against the Anabaptists, such as Melanchthon,[23] Luther,[24] Menius,[25] and Althamer,[26] apparently had never heard anything at all about the Swiss Brethren.

Thus in the thought of his Swiss contemporaries, whether in the circle of his co-laborers and brethren, or in the circle of the leaders of the Reformation who had come into personal contact with the Anabaptist movement, or among the chroniclers who were further removed from the immediate events, Conrad Grebel stands out as the founder and leader of the Swiss Brethren (the first Anabaptist), the first leader of a powerful movement which to some appeared as the glorious revival of the true apostolic church of Jesus Christ, but to others as only a religious party, a new and erroneous sect, a revolutionary body, or perhaps even the devil's handiwork.

I

The Grebel Family of Zurich, 1386-1526

The Grebel family[1] was one of the leading families of the city of Zurich, one of the small number of wealthy, patrician families of the lesser nobility, who had for years directed the political, economic

20. Heinrich Bullinger: *Von dem unverschämpten fräfel, ergerlichem verwyren unnd unwarhafftem leeren der selbsgesandten Widertöuffern,* Zurich, 1531; *Der Widertäuffern Ursprung, fürgang, secten, wäsen, förneme und gemeine irer leer artichel, auch ire grund und warin sy sich absunderind . . . ,* Zurich, 1560. (2. Aufl. 1561).

21. *Heinrich Bullingers Reformationsgeschichte nach dem Autographon herausgegeben von J. J. Hottinger und H. H. Vögeli.* Frauenfeld, 1838. pp. 224, 237, 294.

22. Urbanus Rhegius, *Wider den Newen Taufforden, Nothwendige Warnung an alle Christgläubigen,* Augsburg, 1527.

23. Philip Melanchthon, *Adversus Anabaptistas,* Deutsche Ausgabe, 1528.

24. Martin Luther, *Von der wiedertauffe an zwen Pfarherrn, ein Brief,* Nuremberg, 1528.

25. Justus Menius, *Der widderteuffer Lere und geheimnis, Aus heiliger schrifft widderlegt.* Wittenberg, 1534.

26. Andreas Althammer, *Ein kurtze, unterricht den Pfarherrn und Predigern . . . verordnet, was sie das volck wider etliche verfürische lere der widertäuffer . . . ausz göttlicher Schrift vernomen, und unterrichten sollen, 1528.*

1. Caspar Keller-Escher published in 1886 a history of the Grebel family, with illustrations and genealogical tables, under the title "*Die Familie Grebel, Blätter aus ihrer Geschichte, gesammelt zur Erinnerung an die am 27. Oktober* 1586 *erfolgte Einbürgerung. Für Freunde als Manuskript gedruckt,*" Frauenfeld, 1884 (1886). In 1887 he published an appendix containing additions and corrections. *Anzeiger für Schweizergeschichte Bd. II* (1877), p. 339, announces a Grebel family history by a certain Herr von Grebel von Orelli. The announcement is misleading. Dr. Hans von Grebel, Zurich, kindly informs us that there is no other Grebel family history than that by Keller-Escher, and that the above announcement refers to the commission which Dr. Hans

and military affairs of the city. The record of the family goes back to a certain Lütold Grebel (d. 1435), who left the ancestral home in Kaiserstuhl near Aargau and became a citizen of Zurich in 1386. As far back as the records go, the family possessed land, particularly at Kloten near Zurich, which was the basis for the nobility of the family. In accordance with their nobility, the title of Junker was used, the prefix "von" being later substituted in accordance with modern usage.

From the beginning apparently the Grebels were members of the aristocratic guild known by the name "zur Meise," and beginning with Johannes, the only son of Lütold, every generation shows one or more members of the family as guildmaster. In every generation also one or more members of the family were members of the City Council of Zurich. The first Grebel, Lütold, was member of the council 1420-1430 (d. 1435), his son Johannes was a member 1428-1444 (d. 1445), and others followed in their steps. Still another tradition of the family seems to have been that there should be a representative in the nunnery at Oetenbach near Zurich, the first case being that of Anna, daughter of Lütold. The one daughter of Johannes Grebel did not enter the convent, but a granddaughter, Agatha, was a member in the convent until the nuns began to renounce the order in June, 1523.

In addition to its income from the family estate at Kloten, the Grebel family early established a good income as merchants and manufacturers. Ulrich Grebel, the grandson of Lütold, is known to have been an iron merchant, while his brother Hans Grebel became a papermaker. The descendants in each case carried on the business. The wealth of the family was quite large although it suffered during the Burgundian wars.

Politically the Grebel family was quite prominent. The first Lütold had been Schultheiss at Kaiserstuhl, his son Johannes was an imperial vogt, and other members of the family later were prominent members of the Zurich Council, delegates to meetings of the Swiss Confederacy, and vogts. The family took an equally prominent part in the military affairs of Zurich, serving in all the important wars, and participating in the notable victories of Murten, Novarra and Marignano. At the turn of the century, Felix Grebel, one of the sons of Hans Grebel, made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land for which he was knighted. As Caspar Keller, author of the Grebel family history, says, we know of no important political event of the years 1470 to 1530 in which a Grebel did not take part. Ulrich Grebel was a close friend of the noted burgomaster, Hans Waldmann,

and several Grebels were close friends and supporters of Ulrich Zwingli. In 1471 Ulrich and Hans Grebel were jointly granted a new coat of arms by the Emperor Friedrich III.[2] Through marriage the Grebel family was associated with many of the leading families of Zurich such as Escher, Wirz, Murer, Schweizer, Stucki, Ammann, Holzach, Fries, and Keller.

The most influential of all the Grebels was no doubt Junker Jacob Grebel (1460(?)-1526)[3] only son of Ulrich Grebel, born about 1460. He inherited the wealth of his father and his iron business, the father having died in 1495. With a secure position in the guild "zur Meise," where his father was guildmaster, he was elected in 1494 to the Council, and in 1512 to the Inner Council. In 1486 he had temporarily surrendered his citizenship, no doubt for a few years of travel or soldiering away from home. In 1490 he was again a citizen, having purchased from Thomas Schoub on March 10, 1490, the house at Neumarkt 15,[4] which he possessed until 1517 (1518) when he sold it to his nephew Junker Hans Wernli Schweizer. On March 19, 1492 he bought a second house "an der nüwen Gasse" from Uly Buren.[5] In which of the two houses he made his residence is not known. The date of his marriage is unknown,[6] but it is possible that the purchase of one of the two houses took place in connection with his marriage. In the year 1508 he bought a third

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Grebel's father, Herr Gottfried von Grebel von Orelli, had given to Keller-Escher and which led to the publication of the book which appeared in 1886.

In addition to the published volume by Keller-Escher several genealogical manuscripts dealing with the Grebel family have been preserved. Chief of these is the *"Greblisches Stammbuch,"* now in the possession of Miss Anna Kölliker, Mühlebachstrasse, Zurich. H. W. Zoller's *Fragmenta Genealogica, Manuscript J.* 139 in the Zürich Zentralbibliothek, contains material on the Grebel family. The same is true of *Stemmatologia Tigurina, das ist Zürichs Geschlechterbuch, Durch Erhard Dürsteler, Pfarrer zu Ehrlebach* (1678-1766), a three volume manuscript in the Zurich Zentralbibliothek, numbered *E6, E17, E18.* These three genealogical manuscripts apparently were produced in the first half of the 18th century. Keller-Escher used all three, particularly Dürsteler. The material on the Grebel family in this section is drawn largely from Keller-Escher, except where other sources are indicated. However a careful check has shown that Keller-Escher is not always reliable nor complete, particularly when dealing with the family of Jacob Grebel and Conrad Grebel.

2. The name Grebel may come from "Grebil=Totengräber." Nabholz suggests that this etymology is supported by the fact that the first coat of arms of the family carried a spade until it was displaced by the new coat of arms granted to Hans and Ulrich Grebel in 1471 by Emperor Frederick III. Cf. *Die Züricher Stadtbücher des XIV. und XV. Jahrhunderts, herausgegeben von Hans Nabholz,* Leipzig, 1906, Bd. I, p. 10. The 1471 coat-of-arms is reproduced in Jean Egli, *Neues historisches Wappenbuch der Stadt Zurich,* Zurich, 1860, Table 12.

3. Keller-Escher, *op. cit.,* p. 43, although without documentation. The year of the death of Ulrich Grebel, father of Jacob, is variously given (each time without documentation) as 1495 (p. 42 and Stammtafel) and 1496 (p. 19).

4. *Urkunden Bauamt C III* 4, *Nr.* 304 *d,* Staatsarchiv Zurich.

5. *Kauf- und Gemächts-Briefe B III* 308, fol. 302, Staatsarchiv Zürich.

6. Keller-Escher, *op. cit.,* p. 43, without documentation, says "bald nach 1489."

house from Junker Anton Schenk von Landegg; this house, called "Thurm auf dem Bach," also "Bilgerithurm," was his residence after 1512.[7]

The oldest documentary record of Jacob Grebel's family dates from 1504. It has been preserved in the list of the purchasers of the shares of the great lottery held in connection with the extraordinary Schützenfest (Shooting Festival) of 1504, at Zurich. Here the entire family is listed under the date of September 3, 1504 in the following form:[8]

Dorothe, Jacob Grebels von Zurich Husfrow[9]
Barbeli Jacob Grebels töchterli
Barbeli Grebel von Grüningen
Effarsino Grebel von Grüningen
Cunrat Grebel von Grüningen
Andres Grebel von Grüningen
Martli Grebel von Grünigen
Jacob Grebel, Vogt zu Grüningen

The Grebel family is followed immediately by the family of Hans Wirz, as follows:

Anna Hanns Wirtzen zu Wedischwil husfrow
Katrinli Wirtz von Wedischwil
Barbeli Wirtz
Andres Wirtz
Burckhart
Hanns Wirtz der Jung
Dorothe Wirtz
Margretli
Hanns Wirtz, Schafner

In September 3, 1504, then, Jacob Grebel and his wife, Dorothea Fries, were the parents of 5 children, the oldest of whom must have been born at least five years before, in 1499, possibly 10 years before or more. It is hardly probable that Barbara, who was married in 1512, was less than 15 when married. The date of the marriage of her parents must then be put between 1490 and 1498. A sixth child was born after 1504, namely Dorothea, born in 1509. Un-

7. Keller-Escher, *op. cit.*, p. 43, without documentation.

8. The *Glückshafenrodel* was prepared for publication in 1927 by Dr. Friedrich Hegi and was set up in type, but apparently never published. A printed, unbound copy is in the Zurich Staatsarchiv, with the title *Dis ist das register zum Hafen, und war gemacht und angefangen uff Mittwoch nach dem sonntag Invocavit Anno domini Mo quingentesimo quarto"* (Feb. 28, 1504). The Jacob Grebel family appears on page 186, followed by the family of Hans Wirz, step-brother of Jacob Grebel.

9. The wife of Jacob Grebel was Dorothea Fries, daughter of Hans Fries, sometime Ammann of Uri. Zoller, *Fragmenta Genealogica*, fol. 266, and Dürsteler, *Stemmatologia Tigurina*, I, p. 32. Dürsteler, *Ehebuch* (Staatsarchiv Zurich) Ms. E 4, and *Greblisches Stammbuch*, also agree. Cf. Keller-Escher, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

fortunately there seems not to be the least evidence concerning the ages of the children except Dorothea, who had the unfortunate experience of having her marriage with Johann Jacob Ammann annulled by the court of Zurich on June 15, 1525, when she is listed as being 16 years old.[10] Conrad himself was probably born about 1498.

Little is known of the six children except of Conrad. According to Dürsteler and Zoller, Barbara had been married to Leonhard Karli in 1512. She lived somewhere not far from Zurich, for in a letter of Sept. 26, 1518 Conrad refers to a visit made to his sister in connection with a stay at the baths at Baden.[11] In the summer of 1520 Barbara with her two daughters came to the parental home at Zurich for a visit to escape the plague, leaving her husband behind.[12] Apparently the husband died during the plague, for it seems that Barbara remained in Zurich. Conrad mentions the birth in February, 1521 of a third daughter, Cleophe, to his sister.[13] In July, 1521 Barbara seems to have been the go-between in arrangements involving Conrad's love affair.[14] By 1527, she was married again to Beat Beli of Mayenfeld near Chur, for in the sale of the house belonging to the heirs of her brother Conrad, the name of "Barbara Grebel, wife of Beat Beli of Mayenfeld"[15] appears under date of March 18, 1527 among those granting the release. This marriage and residence in Mayenfeld is of interest, since, if it took place before 1526, it may account for the fact that Conrad went to this region in the summer of 1526, where he died of the plague.[16]

The second of the children of Jacob Grebel, Euphrosine, entered the convent of Oetenbach, where she was under the instruc-

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10. *Ehegerichts Protocolle,* Tom. I, p. 22, Staatsarchiv Zurich.

11. Letter to Vadian, Sept. 26, 1518, *Vadianische Briefsammlung II,* 202. *(Mitteilungen zur Vaterländischen Geschichte, herausgegeben vom Historischen Verein in St. Gallen, XXV,* 1891), hereafter cited as *Vad. BrS.* Cf. also letter of Grebel to Vadian July 23, 1518, *Vad. BrS. IV,* where the visit is announced on p. 403.

12. Grebel to Vadian, Aug. 3, 1520. *Vad. BrS II,* 297.

13. Grebel to Vadian, Feb. 19, 1521, *Vad. BrS. II,* 341.

14. Grebel to Vadian, July 14, 1521. *Vad. BrS. II,* 368.

15. The *Greblisches Stammbuch* reports, "Anno 1512 Barb Grebel verheiratet mit Leonhart Carle. Anno 1527 hat sie auf absterben mit Beat Beli von Belfort von Fidriss im Prättigau verheiratet." Zoller in *Fragmenta Genealogica* also reports the marriage in 1512 with Leonhart Carli, and 1527 with Beat Beli von Belfort. Dürsteler, *Stemmatologia Tigurina,* III, folio 134 verso, incorrectly places the marriage in 1531. A letter of Beat Beli to Vadian from Fideris dated May 5, 1530 calls Vadian "brother-in-law," and greets Martha, Vadian's wife, as "sister," *Vad. BrS. IV,* 211. Beli's wife, Barbara, was a sister of Martha, Vadian's wife.

16. *Johannes Kesslers Sabbata mit kleineren Schriften und Briefen unter Mitwirkung von Prof. Dr. Emil Egli und Prof. Dr. Rudolf Schoch in Zurich, herausgegeben vom Historischen Verein des Kantons St. Gallen,* St. Gall, 1902, p. 164.

tion of her aunt, Agathe Grebel, and where she died in July, 1520 or earlier.[17]

Andreas Grebel, Conrad's only and younger brother, was for a time (after 1517) a courtier of King Ferdinand of Austria in Vienna. On February 19, 1521 Conrad reports that Andreas, together with a certain "Effinger", had returned to Zurich, Ferdinand having dismissed 400 courtiers.[18] On December 18, 1521, Conrad refers to the recent decease of Andreas.[19] In "Das Grosse Jahrzeitbuch" of the great Cathedral in Zurich the last name entered under date of September 3 is an "Andres Grebel."[20] Since there is no other recorded Andreas Grebel in the Grebel family genealogy, it is quite probable that this was Andreas, the son of Jacob, brother of Conrad Grebel. The only other reference to Andreas is found in the testimony of the father, Jacob Grebel, at his trial on the 11th and 12th of October, 1526, where the father is said to have told Alexander Stamp (Scampius?) in 1517 that he had two sons, one at home [Andreas] and the other in Vienna [Conrad].[21]

The youngest child of the Jacob Grebel family was Dorothea, born, as mentioned above, about 1509, a child especially beloved by her parents. Conrad first mentions her in a letter of January 12, 1522, when he calls her the "pet of her parents, the tyrant of the house."[22] He seems to have been particularly exasperated by the little scamp of 13 whom he accuses of having pilfered some of his clothing. She must have been an active and mischievous little girl, for even her father, in spite of the fact that she was the "pet" of the family, could not refrain from referring to her once in a letter to Vadian, as "that naughty little girl, Dorothy" ["Das bos meitli dorly"].[23] Her first marriage to the well-known Johann Jacob Ammann of Zurich, which took place on June 26, 1524 when she was only fifteen years of age, was annulled by the Zurich courts on June 15, 1525.[24] Shortly after the annulment Dorothea was married to Hans Conrad Escher, with whom she had at least two children. It

17. Grebel to Vadian, July 13, 1520. *Vad. BrS. II,* 337. In a letter to Vadian between May 28, and July 14, 1520, Grebel calls the departed nun, Euphrosine, an "Alumna" of a certain "Grebelia," scarcely any one else than the nun, Agathe, sister of Jacob Grebel.

18. Grebel to Vadian, Feb. 19, 1521. *Vad. BrS. II,* 341.

19. Grebel to Vadian, Dec. 18, 1521. *Vad. BrS. II,* 408.

20. *Jahrzeitbücher des Grossmünsters Zürich, Ms. C.* 6 698, Staatsarchiv Zurich. fol. 120 verso.

21. Emil Egli, *Aktensammlung zur Geschichte der Züricher Reformation in den Jahren 1519-1533,* Zurich, 1879, No. 1050, p. 499.

22. Grebel to Vadian, Jan. 12, 1522. *Vad. BrS. II,* 415.

23. Jacob Grebel to Vadian, Oct. 12, 1523. *Vad. BrS. III,* 40.

24. *Ehegerichtsprotokolle Bd. I,* 22 verso et seq., Zurich Staatsarchiv.

appears that the marriage must have taken place before October, 1526, for in the above mentioned trial of Jacob Grebel, a son-in-law of Jacob and brother-in-law of Conrad appears several times in the testimony.

The most prominent of the daughters of Jacob Grebel was Martha, older than Dorothea, who was married on August 19, 1519 in the chapel at Wädenswil to Joachim von Watt (Vadian) the noted humanist, physician, and later burgomaster and reformer of St. Gall.[25] The marriage had been brought about through the mediation of Conrad Grebel, the pupil and devoted admirer of Vadian at Vienna. The preliminary ceremony took place on July 5, 1519. According to Zoller the witnesses for Martha were: Heinrich Engelhard, Pastor; Felix Grebel, Knight; Hans Ulrich Stuckhi; Cunrath Engelhard, Vogt of Kyburg; Hans Wirz, steward of Wädenswil; and Jacob Wirz, Ammann of Einsiedeln.[26] Conrad, who was in Paris at the time of the wedding, sought in vain to secure funds from his father to make the trip home for the occasion. Because of the raging of the plague in St. Gall, Vadian with his bride spent the six months following the wedding [until the middle of February, 1520] at Wädenswil, enjoying the hospitality of Hans Wirz, uncle of the bride.[27]

It might be in order to pause here to clear up the relation of the Wirz family to the Grebel family. It will be remembered that in the lottery lists the family of Hans Wirz follows that of Jacob Grebel. In the trial of Jacob Grebel mention is made of Jacob Grebel's brother, "der Schafner zu Wädeschwil."[28] Further in a letter to Vadian of Oct. 14, 1524, Jacob Wirz of Einsiedeln refers to his brother, Jacob (sc. Grebel).[29] Burkhart Wirz, Unterstadtschreiber of Zurich, son of Hans Wirz, writes to Vadian, July 18, 1534, and calls both Vadian and Hans Conrad Escher "brother-in-law."[30] In letters of January 1, 1520, and January 14, 1520, Grebel refers to

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25. Keller-Escher, *op. cit.*

26. H. S. Zoller, *Fragmenta Genealogica,* fol. 266, Staatsarchiv Zurich Ms. J. 139.

27. Cf. following letters: Jakob Grebel to Vadian, Aug. 26, 1519, *Vad. BrS. II,* 246; George Binder to Vadian, Sept. 2, 1519, *Vad. BrS. II,* 246; Leonhard von Watt to Vadian, Nov. 2, 1519, *Vad. BrS. II,* 251; Ulrich Lener to Vadian, Nov. 16, 1519, *Vad. BrS. II,* 255, all addressed to Vadian in "Wädeschwil." Feb. 19, 1520, Vadian wrote Ulrich Zasius from Zurich, *Vad. BrS. IV,* 242, that he had just returned to Zurich after six months in the country. "Cum Tigurum nuper rediissem a rure, quo cum coniuge mea sex totas menses delitui."

28. Egli, *Aktensammlung,* No. 1050, p. 495.

29. Jakob Wirz to Vadian, Oct. 14, 1524, *Vad. BrS. IV,* 247.

30. Burkhard Wirz to Vadian, July 18, 1534, *Vad. BrS. V,* 175.

his uncle Ammann, and his uncle's household, where Vadian was staying.[31] And in a letter of Oct. 17, 1520,[32] to Vadian, Jacob Grebel speaks of "my brother, the steward" (sc. of Wädenswil). The problem of the relationship is solved when we note that according to Keller-Escher the widow of Ulrich Grebel, Jacob Grebel's mother, married Burkhart Wirz of Einsiedeln, father of Hans and Jacob Wirz, thus making both of the sons brothers by marriage to Jacob Grebel, and uncles to his son Conrad.[33] That the Grebel and Wirz families were close friends is clear from the lottery list and from the visit of Vadian and his bride to Wädenswil. Visits between the families were apparently frequent. Conrad and a friend Beatus were quite enamored of the lovely and charming Margareta Wirz on the occasion of a visit to Wädenswil in 1520.[34] Conrad's close friendship with his uncle, Hans Wirz, is further indicated by the fact that he secured his intervention to soften the wrath of his father when his secret marriage came to light.[35] The Wirz family, like the Grebel family, was an old and wealthy patrician family. A branch of the family had held the office of Ammann (manager) of the monastery at Einsiedeln since 1383.[36]

Through a confusion which goes all the way back to the earliest genealogies (Zoller and Dürsteler) two further daughters of Jacob Grebel have been identified as Anna, wife of Bernhard Peyer, sometime treasurer of the city of Schaffhausen, and Gertrude, wife of Hans von Waldkirch, sometime burgomaster of Schaffhausen. Keller-Escher repeats the statements, and the later biographers of Grebel as well as writers on the Anabaptist movement in Schaff-

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31. Grebel to Vadian, Jan. 1, 1520, *Vad. BrS. II*, 258.

32. Jacob Grebel to Vadian, Oct. 17, 1520, *Vad. BrS. II*, 313.

33. Keller-Escher, *op. cit.*, p. 19. After the manuscript for this section was completed, *Zwingliana Band* VI, *Heft* 4, (1935) came to hand with the first part of an excellent article by Hans Georg Wirz, entitled, "Zürcher Familienschicksale im Zeitalter Zwinglis," pp. 194-222. The discussion concerns primarily the Wirz family and the Grebel family, with considerable material on Conrad Grebel's life up to 1522 (pp. 207-222). The article brings very little new beyond what I have presented above, except a few points in the relation of the Grebel family to the Wirz family. Mr. Wirz shows that Ulrich Grebel's wife, the mother of Jacob Grebel, was not Elizabeth Stucki, second wife of Burkhard Wirz and mother of Hans and Jacob Wirz, but Anna Stucki her sister, for Elizabeth Stucki became Wirz's widow eight years before Ulrich Grebel died. This would make Jacob Grebel and the Wirz brothers first cousins. If this is true, it is impossible to understand how the term "stepbrother" could be employed to indicate the relationship as Mr. Wirz uses it, also the term "uncle" in referring to the relationship between Conrad Grebel and the Wirz brothers. But as shown above in the text proper, Jacob Grebel uses the term "brother," and Conrad the term "uncle."

34. Grebel to Vadian, Dec. 18, 1520, *Vad. BrS. II*, 318.

35. Grebel to Vadian, Feb. 2, 1522, *Vad. BrS. II*, 421.

36. A. F. Ammann, *Geschichte der Familie Ammann I*, Zurich, 1913, p. 317.

hausen, follow the lead.[37] It is impossible, however, that this identification can be correct, since there is not the least mention of these supposed daughters of the family in Grebel's correspondence or in the correspondence of Vadian. If they had been born before 1504 they would have been mentioned in the lottery list of that year. If born after that time they would surely have been mentioned in the correspondence. They would also have been mentioned in the sale of the house of Jacob Grebel, referred to above. The error seems to go back to Zoller, who infers that the wives of Peyer and Waldkirch were children of Jacob Grebel from the fact that each family later owned a sixth of the "Zehnten zu Kloten".[38] This later conclusion is not necessary however. The fact is the two women were children of Christoph Grebel of Baden, a distant relative of Jacob Grebel.[39]

The Jacob Grebel family was directly connected with the Murer and Keller families by marriage. Junker Jacob Murer married Margareta Fries, a sister of Dorothea Fries, Jacob Grebel's wife.[40] The "Mureria" mentioned twice by Conrad, in December, 1520, and July, 1523, as an intimate friend of the Grebels and Vadian, must have been a daughter of Jacob Murer.[41] Fridolin Murer addresses Vadian on June 19, 1520, as his brother-in-law and calls the wife of Jacob Grebel his cousin ["bas"].[42] A sister of Jacob Grebel, Martha, was married to a Keller,[43] and a daughter of this sister is remembered by a bequest in the will of Dame Agathe Grebel, another sister of Jacob.[44] A connection also was established with the Escher family through the marriage of Dorothea, the youngest daughter of Jacob Grebel, to Hans Conrad Escher, as mentioned above.

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37. C. A. Bächtold, *"Die Schaffhauser Wiedertäufer in der Reformationszeit,* p. 5 (*Beiträge zur vaterländischen Geschichte . . . des Kantons Schaffhausen,* 7. Heft.), Schaffhausen, 1900 und Jacob Wipf, *Reformationsgeschichte der Stadt und Landschaft Schaffhausen,* Zurich, 1929, p. 187, repeat this erroneous conception. Both women were daughters of Christoph Grebel of Baden in Aargau, who was a brother of Knight Felix Grebel, son of Hans Grebel, a brother of Ulrich, who was father of Jacob Grebel. This would make Conrad Grebel second cousin to Anna Peyer and Gertrude Waldkirch.

38. Zoller, *Fragmenta Genealogica,* Zurich Zentralbibliothek, Ms. J. 139.

39. *Ratsmanual Zürich 1542;* Friedrich Hegi, *Glückshafenrodel Zürich 1504.*

40. Keller-Escher, *op. cit.*

41. Grebel to Vadian, Nov. 7, 1520, *Vad. BrS. II,* 315; Dec. 8, 1520, *Vad. BrS. III,* 210; July 14, 1523, *Vad. BrS. III,* 51.

42. Fridolin Murer to Vadian, June 19, 1520, *Vad. BrS. II,* 287.

43. *Vad. BrS. III,* 40.

44. "Frow Agathen Greblin gemächt," Staatsarchiv Zurich, *Gemächtsbuch Bd. VI,* 312, fol. 5. Cf. also *Vad. BrS. VII,* 115f.

II

Conrad Grebel's Family, 1522-1526, *and His Descendants*

On February 6, 1522, Conrad Grebel was married to a girl who bore the name of Barbara. Three children were born to them in the course of the next three years. Conrad himself reports the marriage to Vadian on the same day that it occurred. "I have just married Barbara, mine as I hope. I confessed it first to our friend Johannes Wirz and then to Doctor Engelhard and a few others who promised to intervene with father when he returns. Mother weeps unceasingly."[1] About the first name of Grebel's wife there can be no doubt, for, in addition to the quotation just cited, in a letter of November 2, 1521, shortly before the marriage, he calls her jokingly his "Barbarity."[2] About a year and a half after Grebel's death in 1526 his widow was married to Jacob Ziegler, the exact date of the marriage being December 5, 1527. In Dürsteler's "Ehebuch" her name is entered as "Barbel Ziegler."[3] That Jacob Ziegler actually married Conrad Grebel's widow is proved by the testimony of the man himself on January 9, 1528 before the court of Zurich where he says that he has just married Conrad Grebel's widow.[4] Ziegler secured citizenship in Zurich a few days later, January 28, 1528.[5]

In view of the facts just cited the assertion of all the previous literature on this point, from Zoller and Dürsteler on down to the present day, including Keller-Escher, that the wife of Conrad Grebel was Agathe von Fynland from Alsace, must be discarded.[6] How the name "Agathe von Fynland" came into the family tradition is inexplicable. It apparently goes back to Zoller whose data are not always reliable, and it is altogether possible that it was a pure invention of his. Unfortunately the family name of Conrad's Barbara appears no where in the extant source material and must remain unknown.

Not much more can be said with certainty about the home of Grebel's wife. Apparently she lived in Zurich.[7] Early in the year

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1. Grebel to Vadian, Feb. 6, 1522, *Vad. BrS. II,* 421.
2. Grebel to Vadian, Nov. 2, 1521, *Vad. BrS. II,* 398.
3. *Tauf- u. Ehebuch Grossmünster,* Staatsarchiv, Zurich.
4. *Ehegerichtsprotokolle,* fol. 85, Staatsarchiv, Zurich.
5. *Bürgerbuch,* fol. 403, Staatsarchiv, Zurich.
6. In Table VII of the Grebel family tree contained in *Die Familie Grebel,* Keller-Escher shows a Hans Conrad Grebel married to Agathe Wild in 1526. This is however not Conrad, the son of Jacob. The assertion that Conrad's wife was Agathe von Fynland, and that she had been his sweetheart as long as two years before the marriage, is found most recently in *Zwingli Werke VIII,* 782, note 11, without indication of source.

1521 she had attracted Conrad, for in a letter of February 1, 1521, about seven months after he had returned home from Paris, he writes to Vadian that he has the desire to marry and to live in Basel.[8] At this time Barbara was in Zurich, for in two letters dated in July, 1521, Grebel states that he has the intention of going with his beloved to Basel.[9] Before the 22nd of July, 1521, the girl actually went alone to Basel, and Grebel followed her in August.[10] It is possible that she was a native of Basel but her residence must have been in Zurich when Conrad became acquainted with her.

The social status of Conrad's beloved must have been somewhat below his own, for otherwise the serious opposition of his parents to the marriage could not be explained, an opposition which was so stubborn that Grebel felt himself compelled to postpone the marriage for an entire year at the cost of a very serious inner conflict, and finally during the absence of his father entered upon a secret marriage in spite of everything. And when the marriage had actually occurred, Conrad found it necessary to secure a mediator to overcome the conflict between the father and son and to arrange a contract which would provide for the financial aspects of their relationship.[11] The mediator who was chosen was Heinrich Utinger, a prominent citizen of Zurich.

Conrad Grebel announces the birth of two of his three children in letters which have been preserved; a Josua was born about August

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7. Certain somewhat obscure passages in Conrad's letters suggest that his wife may have been a nun in the convent at Oetenbach. He tried to keep the affair from his parents as long as possible, and felt that it would be necessary for them to leave Zurich in case they married, which might have been due to the scandal which would have been aroused by the violation of a nun's vow. Furthermore, in his first letter to Vadian telling about the affair (undated, but written between May 28 and July 14, 1521, *Vad. BrS. III,* 225), Grebel relates that a certain "Grebelia" who had earlier been the instructress of his departed sister Euphrosine, had, as a nun, advised him not to keep the matter hidden from the nuns, and had persuaded him to report the affair. He says he had agreed with her support to make an attempt to do something, and not merely to let the affair drift as a hopeless tragedy. The nun "Grebelia" cannot well have been anyone but Agathe Grebel, the sister of Jacob Grebel and aunt of Conrad who was at that time a nun at Oetenbach convent. However, the editor of *Vad. BrS.* holds this "Grebelia" to have been Barbara, the sister of Conrad. He does this on the basis of Conrad's letter of July 14, 1521 where Conrad tells Vadian that he could learn everything from Barbara who knew everything. But he overlooks two facts, first, that the "Grebelia" was a nun, which Barbara was not, and second, that Barbara was no longer a "Grebelia," but since 1512 a "Carli." It is also difficult to see how Barbara could have been an instructress of the departed Euphrosine.

8. Grebel to Vadian, Feb. 1, 1521, *Vad. BrS. II,* 337. Grebel does not speak expressly of marriage, but it is quite clear that he is in love and that this has created the desire to go to Basel.

9. Grebel to Vadian, between May 28 and July 14, 1521, *Vad. BrS. III,* 225 and July 14, 1521, *Vad. BrS. II,* 368.

10. Grebel to Vadian, July 22, 1521, *Vad. BrS. III,* 227.

11. Egli, *Aktens.*, No. 1050.

11, 1523,[12] and a Rachel on January 6, 1525.[13] The third and oldest child, a son Theophil, is not named in Grebel's extant letters but appears in the books of the Orphans' Court in Zurich.[14] The daughter Rachel must have died in infancy, for the first court record which mentions the children in 1527 speaks of "the two children of Conrad Grebel." In 1530 the two children are named for the first time as "Theophil" and "Josua" Grebel. In the record of the Orphans' Court for 1539 Theophil is expressedly named "the elder." In 1541 the financial accounts of the two children are combined into one and after this the name of Josua appears alone with an account which is as large as the total of the previous two accounts. In 1547 also Josua is listed as the possessor of the silver dish which his brother Theophil had originally inherited from the great-aunt Agathe Grebel. In 1547 also Josua appears in the records in possession of a fourth of the income of the estate of Kloten. This means that he is the sole heir of his father Conrad's share in the estate, his father having been one of four heirs of Jacob Grebel, namely Barbara, Martha, Conrad, Dorothea.[15]

The date of the birth of Theophil is nowhere reported, neither in the letters of Conrad Grebel nor in the archives of the Orphans' Court. The last will and testament of Dame Agathe Grebel, which is dated in 1533, contains a bequest for "Theophile Grebel, Conrad Grebel her nephew's legitimate orphan son."[16] Theophil therefore was not an illegitimate child as Dürsteler [17] and others following him have asserted. Nor was he born in 1520 as Dürsteler claims, for Grebel was in Paris until the middle of June, 1520. Since the second child Josua was born in August 1523, the *terminus ad quem* for the date of the birth of Theophil must be November, 1522. In a letter to Vadian dated November 21, 1522 Grebel mentions the necessity

12. Grebel to Vadian, Aug. 11, 1523, *Vad. BrS. III,* 32. It is interesting to note that in the autograph Grebel also writes the name Josua in Hebrew letters. "Gratulor mihi, Josue meum; si videtur, inquam, quia patri, Leopoldo, Dorotheae, te non visum est. Tu dispice, quae causae assignari possint. Mundum ego autorem huius rusticitatis sive simultatis potuis existimo esse."

13. Grebel to Vadian, Jan. 14, 1525, *Vad. BrS. III,* 104. "Min frow ist gnesen gester, das ist fritag, acht tag. Das Kind ist ein Tochter, heisst Rachel; ist noch nit in den Römschen wasserbad getoufft und gschwemmt."

14. *Schirmbücher VI,* p. 333 et seq., Staatsarchiv Zurich.

15. The assertion of Zoller that the Peyer and Waldkirch families of Schaffhausen each possessed a sixth of the income of the Kloten estate is untenable according to the records of the Schirmbücher.

16. *Gemächtsbuch B VI,* 312, fol. 5, "Frow Agathen Greblin gemächt." Hans Conrad Escher also reports this will in a letter to his brother-in-law Vadian, Oct. 31, 1533, *Vad. BrS. IV,* 136. He was a witness to the will as member of the Council and signed his name to it as "Conradt Aescher."

17. Erhard Dürsteler, *Genealogische Tabellen, MS. E* 94, fol. 246, Staatsarchiv Zurich.

which faces him of supporting his family.[18] He would scarcely have spoken of his "family" if he had not had any children at that time. So Theophil must have been born between February 6, 1522 and November 1, 1522, a period in which no letters of Grebel have been preserved. In 1541 Theophil died as a nineteen year old youth.

From Josua, the only son of Conrad who survived to marry, all of the posterity of Conrad Grebel derive their descent, and through him the family has continued to exist to the present day in Zurich. Josua was married on June 21, 1549 to Catherina Steiner.[19] They had three sons and four daughters. Of the three sons, only the one named Conrad survived to marry. Conrad became an important personality in Zurich and occupied the office of treasurer of the city in 1624. A grandson of this Conrad, who also bore the name of Conrad Grebel, became burgomaster of Zurich in 1669.[20] The sole head of a family who today bears the name of Grebel is Dr. Hans von Grebel, at present (1936) President of the Supreme Court of Zurich.

III

Conrad Grebel's Early Education

In the year 1499 Junker Jacob Grebel was appointed by the Zurich Council to serve for a term of six years as magistrate (*vogt*) of the township of Grüningen, just east of the city, one of the largest territories in the canton. His appointment was renewed in 1506 for another six years so that he served until 1512.[1] The magistrate was required to live in the territory. The above mentioned lottery list of 1504 proves that this was actually the case with Jacob Grebel. The official residence of the magistrate was the castle of Grüningen.[2]

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18. Grebel to Vadian, Nov. 21, 1522, *Vad. BrS. II,* 451. "Neque tu me pariter cum familia mea alio."

19. Tafel VII, *Stammtafel* in Keller-Escher, *Die Familie Grebel.* The further data about the descendants of Josua Grebel, are taken from the *Stammtafel,* and the book itself.

20. A daughter of Burgomaster Conrad Grebel, by name Regula, was married to the genealogist Junker Hans Wilpert Zoller who died in 1709. Since Regula Grebel-Zoller's grandfather, Heinrich Grebel, (1586-1658) was a grandson of Conrad Grebel, it is possible that Zoller had access to reliable family traditions in preparing his Grebel genealogy. He is probably the one who prepared the *Greblisches Stammbuch* mentioned earlier. Dürsteler is certainly dependent on Zoller for much of his material.

1. Keller-Escher, *Die Familie Grebel,* p. 43. See also the *Glückshafenrodel* of 1504, where Jacob Grebel is called "Vogt zu Grüningen."

2. Gustav Strickler's *Geschichte der Herrschaft Grüningen,* Zurich, 1908, omits altogether the period of Jacob Grebel's term of office as Vogt, in fact the entire period 1489-1525. Jacob Grebel's name is not even mentioned. An extensive chapter is devoted to "Die Widertäufer und der Bauernaufstand 1525," pp. 126-158. The same

Accordingly Conrad Grebel, who had been born probably about 1498,[3] spent his childhood in the castle. The house in which he was born in Zurich must have been either the house at Neumarkt 15, which had been purchased in the year 1490 by his father, or the house "An der Nüwen Gasse", which had been purchased in 1492.

The first mention of Conrad Grebel in the documents after the lottery list of 1504 is his matriculation at the University of Basel in October, 1514 as "Conradus Grebel de thurego constan. dioc."[4] Entrance to the University was based upon an adequate preparation in a Latin school, usually a minimum of six years. The Latin school which Grebel attended could only have been the Latin school at the Grossmünster in Zurich, the so called "Carolina",[5] supposedly founded by Charlemagne, according to tradition. It is quite likely that Grebel attended this school for the six years previous to 1514. The school was under the supervision of the Canons of the Cathedral church and was conducted in the Canon house beside the Canon drinking room on the northeast side of the Chorherrnplatz.[6] Since the students usually entered the University at the age of fifteen or sixteen[7] and the Latin school at the age of seven or eight, it is un-

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author's *Das Schloss Grüningen,* Zurich, 1913, (*Mitteilungen der Antiquarischen Gesellschaft in Zurich, Bd. LXXVII, Heft 3*) also fails to mention Jacob Grebel, but contains interesting pictures of the castle and village of Grüningen from the year 1486 (after *Edlibach's Chronik*) and 1548 (after *Stumpf's Chronik*), and a reproduction of the splendid stained glass panel of the castle by Joseph Murer of 1563, which is now in the Schweizerisches Landesmuseum, in Zurich. It also gives a half page (p. 149) to "Die Zeit der Wiedertäuferunruhen 1525."

3. See part I for evidence in support of this date.

4. Further evidence of the time of birth may be inferred from the fact that Grebel entered the University of Basel in 1514, most likely at the customary age of 15 or 16. The matriculation record for the winter semester 1514-1515 begins as follows: "Nomina entitularorum sub rectoratu Magistri Henrici rinck qui fuit electus ipso die sancti Luce anno millesimo quingentisimo decimoquarto; hic sunt . . . ." As sixteenth in the list of matriculants appears "Cunradus Grebel de thurego constan. dioc."; followed by "Johannes de Hunwil ex olten." "Luce," the date of the election of Rector Rinck, was Oct. 18, 1514. The matriculation register of the previous semester (May, 1514) shows the name of "Magister Henricus Loritus Glareanus Poeta laureatus," followed by several familiar names of students who were Grebel's comrades later: Petrus Tschudi, Fridolin Eckley, Conradus Moser, Johannes Leopoldus Grebel. The matriculation records are now kept in the Basel University library.

5. Ulrich Ernst, *Geschichte des zürcherischen Schulwesens bis gegen das Ende des* 16. *Jahrhunderts,* Winterthur, 1879, gives a good description of the school life of that time in the chapter, "Die letzten Zeiten vor der Reformation," pp. 14-38. *Die Grossmünsterschule in Zürich, Ansprache vom Rektor J. Schurter,* Zurich, 1915, is based on Ernst and adds nothing new. Thomas Platter's autobiography in *Thomas und Felix Platter, Zwei Autobiographien,* Basel 1840, describes in a very interesting fashion conditions in the Grossmünster school in 1524 and 1525, when he was a pupil there. Although this description deals with conditions ten years after Grebel left the school, it is quite probable that little change had taken place.

6. Ernst, *op. cit.,* p. 25, with Salomon Voegelin, *Das Alte Zürich,* p. 40, and Nuescheler, *Die Gotteshäuser der Schweiz, III,* p. 438, as sources.

7. Ernst, *op. cit.,* p. 30.

likely that Conrad entered the Latin school in Zurich earlier than his eighth year and more likely in his tenth year, at least if he was born in 1498 or earlier.

Like the other Latin schools of that time the "Carolina" was a true *Latin* school.[8] Not only was Latin taught as a language, but the entire instruction was in Latin and an attempt was made to latinize the pupils completely. The three chief subjects of the curriculum were Latin grammar and literature, dialectic, and music. In dialectic the art of disputation, chiefly with theological themes, was taught. The disputation was often unedifying, but it had after all its value as an exercise in public speaking. In Zurich disputation was particularly popular and the papal legates often attended the sessions. "Music" was not what is understood as music today but was rather training in Latin liturgical forms.

Most of the pupils in the Latin school were in need of support and were given the opportunity to earn part of their expenses by singing in the streets and begging. It is unlikely however that the young Grebel was compelled to follow this practice. The general atmosphere in the school was not very conducive to good teaching and learning. Crudeness and rudeness, fist-fights and altercations of various kinds, were a regular part of the day's procedure. The pupils carried daggers, knives, and short swords and frequently used them. Card playing was a very common custom.[9] Instruction was quite uninspired. It is of course possible that Conrad Grebel, as the son of a wealthy family, enjoyed private instruction from tutors in addition to the school instruction, but no information on this point has been preserved.

The "Schola Carolina" was conducted quite in the old medieval, scholastic spirit. Nothing of the new humanistic spirit was to be felt in it at the time that Grebel studied there. It was only with Myconius, a humanistic school teacher and good friend of Zwingli, who came to Zurich in the year 1516, that a more progressive spirit came into the school. Unfortunately no records at all have been preserved for the time that Grebel attended the school, and it is therefore impossible to report either the names of teachers or the names of scholars who were there when Grebel attended.

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8. The following picture is drawn chiefly from Ernst, *op. cit.*, p. 20ff.

9. *Thomas and Felix Platter, Zwei Autobiographien,* Basel, 1840.

IV

Grebel's Study in Basel, October 1514 *to May* 1515

In the autumn of 1514 young Grebel came to the University of Basel for a semester of study, the winter semester 1514-1515.[1] His Zurich cousin, Johann Leopold Grebel, son of Ritter Felix Grebel, had matriculated a semester earlier. Other students at Basel at this time and with whom Grebel was certainly acquainted, were Conrad Moser of Zurich, Johannes Hinwiler of Zurich who had studied in Vienna earlier, and Valentine and Peter Tschudi of Glarus. Johann Jakob Zurgilgen of Lucerne came to Basel first in 1515, as did also Wolfgang Capito and Johannes Oecolampad. Rudolph Collin (Clivanus) and Melchior Macrinus came in 1516. Oswald Myconius, who had been in Basel since 1510 and who was later a close friend of Grebel, had already won his "Baccalaureus" in 1514, and had been appointed to a position as school teacher in Basel. No doubt Grebel became acquainted with Myconius during his study in Basel.

The University of Basel[2] was at that time in a low estate; it had lost its earlier brilliance and only a few outstanding professors remained after Sebastian Brant and Ulrich Krafft had left in the year 1501. The enrollment had dropped so very greatly that on the average not more than fifty new students were matriculated each year. In 1514, the year that Conrad Grebel came to Basel the number of matriculants had risen to eighty-one, the highest number between 1510 and 1520.

"The most of what we read of the University in these years is strife, quarreling among the professors, and lawsuits," says Wackernagel.[3] Although the older humanism had celebrated its victory in Basel fifty years before, it had practically disappeared again. The newer humanism was already manifesting itself in Basel but was as yet to be found chiefly outside the University. It was just beginning to make its way inside in the year 1514 and following years. An earlier forerunner was Thomas Wyttenbach, who had been in Basel since 1505 and who had had among his pupils Ulrich Zwingli

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1. The matriculation data and the names of other matriculants in the Spring and Fall of 1514 are given above in note 4, part II.

2. The material relating to the University of Basel is based on: Wilhelm Vischer, *Geschichte der Universität Basel von der Gründung 1460 bis zur Reformation,* Basel, 1860; Rudolf Wackernagel, *Humanismus und Reformation in Basel,* Basel, 1924; Rudolf Thommen, *Basler Studentenleben im 16. Jahrhundert (Basler Jahrbuch,* 1887, pp. 94-140); and O. F. Fritzsche, *Glarean, Sein Leben und seine Schriften,* Frauenfeld, 1890. Thommen describes conditions after 1530.

3. Wackernagel, *Humanismus und Reformation in Basel,* p. 128.

and Leo Jud.[4] In the year 1513, Ludwig Baer, who had just become a Doctor of Theology in Paris, joined the faculty in Basel as a teacher in theology. He was a man of good humanistic training and a friend and supporter of Erasmus, through whom he had been won for a thorough study of the Holy Scriptures.[5] But without doubt the most important of the younger humanists of the University was Heinrich Loriti, usually called Glarean, because of his home in Glarus,[6] who had come to Basel in May, 1514, not as a professor in the University but as a private scholar. The only humanistic members of the University faculty proper were Wyttenbach and Baer, and they were no outstanding personalities.

The students of the philosophical faculty to which Grebel belonged were required to live in houses called "Bursae."[7] About fifteen men lived in a "Bursa" under the supervision of a proctor who was required to have a master's degree and to be approved by the University. The "Bursa" was usually directly under university control, with a few exceptions, among which the "Bursa" conducted by Glarean was the chief.

Conrad Grebel was a member of Glarean's "Bursa." Proof of this is found in a letter to Ulrich Zwingli from Vienna dated September 8, 1517, in which he praises Glarean in contrast to Vadian, calling Glarean his friend and teacher ["preceptor meus"].[8] Other members of the "Bursa" were Johannes Hinwiler,[9] Valentin[10] and Peter Tschudi of Glarus, and in all probability also Johann Leopold Grebel and Conrad Moser both of Zurich. Rudolph Collin, who came to Basel in 1516, and Melchior Macrinus, were later members of Glarean's "Bursa" also, but it is very doubtful that they were in Basel in 1514.

The subjects which Glarean taught in his "Bursa" are mentioned in several interesting extant letters which his scholars wrote during this time. Tschudi mentions "perfection in Latin speaking, the Decades of Titus Livius, Aulius Gellius, Introduction to Greek grammar and Greek literature." Hinwiler mentions further "Lucanus in Pharsalis, Virgil, Ovid, and Geography (Ptolemy)." Col-

4. Vischer, *Geschichte der Universität Basel,* p. 194.
5. Vischer, *ibid.,* p. 227.
6. Vischer, *ibid.,* p. 194.
7. Concerning the "Bursa" see Vischer, *ibid.,* p. 152. For want of a better term, the latter word will be used hereafter to refer to Glarean's institution.
8. Conrad Grebel and Johann Leopold Grebel to Zwingli, Vienna, Sept. 8, 1517 (Conrad actually did the writing), *Zwingli Werke VII,* 62-65.
9. Johannes Hinwiler to Vadian, Basel, Jan. 6, 1515. *Vad. BrS. I,* 134.
10. Valentin Tschudi to Zwingli, Basel, July 31, 1514. *Zwingli Werke VII,* 28.

lin says in his autobiography that his studies in Basel with Glarean included "Principles of Mathematics."[11] Wackernagel reports that Hebrew was studied in Glarean's "Bursa."[12] Glarean's pupils were enthusiastic for him. Tschudi says "I doubt that there are ten like him in all Switzerland." Conrad Grebel says "he is a faithful instructor." And Collin calls him "the most faithful instructor of all."

The comments of the students of Glarean indicate that the house which Glarean provided for his scholars was a large and well-furnished one.[13] Glarean himself says in a letter to Erasmus dated September 5, 1516, that the inclusive charge for board, room, and tuition was 120 guilders a year, and states further that at that time 30 excellent young men lived together under his roof.[14] The students were organized into a civil senate after the model of ancient Rome. Discipline in the "Bursa" in Basel was very strict, for the students had to swear obedience to the master, and were required to be in their rooms at eight o'clock under complete prohibition of all frivolous conduct and noise.[15]

Although Glarean was the best of the few humanists in Basel who were attached to the University, and although he was recognized by Erasmus as an outstanding scholar and had been praised by him on numerous occasions, as for instance in a letter to Zwingli, dated May, 1516, in which Erasmus calls Glarean the chief ["princeps"] of the Swiss humanists,[16] Glarean was not able for various reasons to adjust himself happily to the life of Basel. He did not feel at home, and finally came to the conclusion that he could do

11. *Rudolf Collins Schilderung seines Lebens, verdeutscht von Salomon Voegelin* (*Zürcher Taschenbuch auf das Jahr* 1859, Zurich, 1859, pp. 179-220). First published in Latin in J. J. Ulrich, *Miscellanea Tigurina I*, Zurich, 1721. Very interesting is the report by Collin of his study in Basel, in Voegelin, *op. cit.*, p. 188. "Zum dritten wurde ich von Herrn Xylotectus selber nach Basel gebracht und in die Schule und Wohnung Herrn Heinrich Glareanus, des allertreuesten Lehrers, aufgenommen. Bei diesem lebte ich ein Halbjahr lang, und erlernte die Anfangsgründe der Mathematik. Ich hätte auch grossen Fortschritt in den Studien gemacht, wenn ich länger seinen Unterricht und seine Erziehung hätte geniessen können. Aber da Herr Glareanus nach Paris reiste, musste ich auch meinen Studienort vertauschen."

12. Wackernagel, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

13. Valentin Tschudi to Zwingli, July 31, 1514, *Zwingli Werke VII*, 28.

14. P. S. Allen, *Opus Epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami, II.* Oxford, 1910, p. 342. "Praeterea habeo mecum domi meae triginta optimae indolis iuvenes, qui annue solvunt centum et viginti scuta, quamuis labori meo non satis respondeat hoc praemium." See also *Zwingli Werke VII*, 48. "Sunt mecum iuvenes triginta et vix ulli maiori angustiam quam Glareani: paucos nummos mittunt, et praesertim ii, qui bene habent." The number of pupils and the charges fluctuated: cf. Fritzsche, *op. cit.*, pp. 13, 14.

15. Vischer, *op. cit.*, 152. A description of Glarean's "Bursa" and activity in Vischer, *op. cit.*, p. 195f.

16. A collection of such passages is to be found in Fritzsche, *op. cit.*, pp. 11, 12, and *Zwingli Werke VII*, 37, note 2. Wackernagel, *op. cit.*, pp. 429, 430, also has words of praise for Glarean.

better elsewhere. So in May, 1517, exactly three years after his arrival in Basel, Glarean removed from Basel to Paris. It is important to note here, in view of the later trouble between Conrad Grebel and Glarean in Paris, that the chief blame in the matter of Glarean's incompatibility in Basel is to be attributed to his own restless and unbearable disposition. More than once Glarean was guilty of foolish practical jokes. For instance at one time he rode on horseback into a hall where a disputation was being held, and refused to leave until the entire assembly had been dismissed. He did this because he felt that he had not received sufficient recognition among the professors.[17]

Although Grebel was under the instruction of the humanist Glarean, it is difficult to tell how much he absorbed of the spirit of humanism in the few months of his study in Basel. He was then probably not more than sixteen years old, so that it is seriously to be doubted that he learned to think in humanistic terms in these few months; however, there are absolutely no sources which can be used as a basis for an answer to the question. The first definite evidence of Conrad Grebel's inner development comes much later, in the year 1517, after Grebel had been two years in Vienna. In his first recorded letter to Zwingli, dated September 8, 1517, he speaks the language of a humanist.[18] However, although there are no direct sources for Grebel's development in Basel, it is possible through Wackernagel's excellent and exhaustive description and characterization of the humanist world of Basel at that time, to learn something of the environment in which Grebel moved during the five months of his stay there.[19]

The Basel of 1514-1515 was not yet the great humanist center whose fame was soon to be known far and wide. The older humanists were gone: Leontorius and Petri had died in 1511; Kuno and Johannes Amerbach had died in 1513; Konrad Pellican had left in 1508 not to return until 1516. The younger group of humanists was just beginning to come into prominence. Among these were Beatus Rhenanus, proofreader in the Froben printing house, Ludwig Baer, Professor of Theology at the University, Erasmus and Capito as private scholars, and Glarean as a teacher and private scholar. In the middle of the year 1511 Rhenanus had come to Basel as a young scholar aged twenty-five with a splendid humanistic training secured at the University of Paris. Baer had come to

17. Vischer, *op. cit.*, p. 197. For a similar practical joke see Fritzsche, *op. cit.*, p. 13.
18. *Zwingli Werke VII*, p. 64.
19. Wackernagel, *op. cit.*, pp. 126-255, Chapter VI, "Wissenschaft." The following description was taken essentially from this extraordinarily rich and detailed work.

Basel in March, 1513, with his brilliant Paris theological training. Capito had appeared in Basel in the spring of 1513 although no traces of his activity are noticeable until 1515. Erasmus himself appeared in Basel for the first time at the end of August, 1514, and remained until the middle of March, 1515.[20] Glarean was in Basel from May, 1514, to May, 1517.[21] Oecolampad came in 1515, Cantiuncula in 1517. Of the lesser humanists at that time in Basel the following might be mentioned: Myconius and Hieronymus Artolf, two school teachers; three proofreaders in Froben's printing house, Wilhelm Nesen, Conrad Brunner (Fonteius) and Bruno Amerbach; also Ludwig Kiel (Carinus) and several others. The great Froben had begun his activity as an independent printer in 1513, and began also in that year for the first time to print for Erasmus with his edition of the *Adagia*. Cratander was away from Basel 1513 to 1515 and did not begin with his own printing establishment until 1518. Hans Holbein, then a young and inexperienced artist, may have come as early as 1514, or as late as the spring of 1515.

But it was only after Erasmus made his influence in Basel felt that the humanist community became a definite and permanent group. The Sodalitas Basiliensis or Sodalitium literarium, that free society of humanists in which the humanist life at Basel was concentrated and stimulated, was not established until Erasmus came to Basel as the guest of Froben in the summer of 1514. Next to Erasmus the young Rhenanus was the outstanding personality in this group. There is no evidence that Capito was active as early as 1514. Glarean, still only twenty-six years old, was apparently somewhat independent of the Sodalitas[22] and hence it is quite likely that the humanist life at Basel was centered around two groups, the group of Erasmus-Rhenanus-Froben, and the group around Glarean. With Glarean were associated the young Swiss humanists like Myconius, Brunner, Carinus, Nesen, and Artolf, while the Alsatians and other foreign humanists in Basel were attracted more to Erasmus and Rhenanus. That Glarean was not fully acclimated in Basel is witnessed by his decision to leave Basel in April, 1515, to go to Pavia in Italy. It was only because of the failure to receive a promised stipend in Pavia that he returned to Basel

20. May be concluded from his letters found in P. S. Allen, *op. cit., Tom II, Letters of 1514-1517.*

21. Fritzsche, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-21, where the life and activity of Glarean in Basel, 1514-1517, are described.

22. Wackernagel points out that there is no evidence of exchange of letters between Glarean and Rhenanus.

after a month's absence to remain there two years longer before he went to Paris for five years.[23]

We should probably consider Grebel a member of the Glarean group and not of the Erasmian circle. Grebel lived in Glarean's "Bursa" and was his pupil, and as a young beginning student of sixteen years probably did not have much contact with the older scholars. Nevertheless, since Glarean at this time developed an intimate friendship with Erasmus,[24] we may be permitted to suppose that Glarean's pupils saw Erasmus occasionally and had the privilege of at least a distant contact with the great scholar. Yet the influence of Erasmus upon a young student of Glarean such as Conrad Grebel could scarcely have been significant at this time.

As a pupil of Glarean and a member of his "Bursa" young Grebel was without doubt reared in the spirit of humanism in Basel, for it was just in Glarean's "Bursa" that humanism reigned in the fullest sense, in contrast to the other University "Bursae." In the University proper however, Grebel certainly did not receive any humanistic stimuli, for he would not have been permitted to attend the lectures in theology of Professor Baer who was the only active humanistic professor in the University. In the philosophical lectures the superficial sophistry of the late scholastic period was still in full sway. In contrast to the sterility and pedantry of the university professors and the typical university "Bursa," the spirit of the new humanism with its new subject matter and its new methods, as well as its new ideals, must have stood out in sharp contrast. Here not only subject matter was taught, but emotion and taste and judgment were developed as well.[25]

The religious and ethical attitudes of the humanist must also have had their influence upon the young students in Glarean's "Bursa." Wackernagel gives a fine characterization of the attitude of the humanists of Basel toward religion and the Church in the following words: "The outstanding figures of our circle prove themselves to be men of strict morals and religious concerns whose expressions mark the great distance which separate this Basel humanism from the humanism of the Italians or of a Mutian. They want to be dis-

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23. Fritzsche, *loc. cit.*, for the evidence.

24. Fritzsche, *loc. cit.*, for proof. The following paragraph found in Wackernagel, *op. cit.*, p. 151, is very significant. "In Erasmus, der kurz nach ihm in Basel einkehrte, kam ihm dann diejenige Macht entgegen, die fortan auch für ihn Basel zu einem Ort ohne Gleichen erhob. Erasmus galt ihm als Vater, als Meister. Er nannte ihn den grösseren Teil seiner Seele, seine Zierde, sein Gestirn. Dessen Güte war ihm das kostbarste Geschenk, weit hinausgehend über Gold und Edelstein. In Briefen, in Elegien, legte er seine stürmische Bewunderung des Einzigen nieder."

25. Wackernagel, *op. cit.*, p. 245.

ciples of the sciences and of Christ at the same time, *literarum Christique cultores*. In their life is to be united *eruditio* and *doctrina, recta studia* and *vera pietas;* their culture is above all intended to serve true religion. . . . The desire for a religious revival is powerful among the humanists. Humanism strives after the purity of the early beginnings. The church is to drink at the gospel sources instead of out of the mud holes from which it had dipped up to this time. Therefore without a knowledge of the biblical languages the knowledge of the true Christ is not possible. So a printer like Bruno Amerbach gives his best energy to the publication of an edition of Jerome in order that the genuine old theology may revive again. Capito, Rhenanus, and Glarean think and speak of the same thing. And above all Erasmus finds his life work in this field, he feels the call to help the religion of Christ and true theology to victory. All these men feel themselves engaged in a labor that will mean a renaissance in Christianity."[26]

Even though it is not possible to prove it from the sources, it may well be assumed that the young Grebel was baptised into the spirit of this Christian humanism in his first university semester in Basel. How different conditions were here than in the Latin school in Zurich where the attempt was made to latinize the young boys in the spirit of the old scholasticism and to lead them to unconditional acceptance of the traditions of the old church. And how much stronger the personalities were here in Basel with whom the young Grebel came in contact, particularly in the case of his teacher Glarean. The judgment of Wackernagel about Glarean is worthy of note. "Erasmus was delighted with the scholarship of Glarean, with his zeal, his strict morals, his vigor. He seemed to him to be the leader and standard-bearer of the Swiss humanists. Even we today must marvel at the talent of the man. Developed without a favorable background or environment, supported only by a native soundness of mind and body, Glarean goes forward in a fresh and naive way without much hesitation. The extent of his talent and strength manifests itself in an amazing richness of interests and attainments. . . . His little quarrels with the University show with what difficulty he tries to fit into the academic forms of the day. In a similar fashion Glarean stands isolated in the circle of his humanistic comrades, Glarean the impetuous, the irascible, the man of rapidly changing moods, appreciated by all, but congenial to none. Full of 'pep' and life, it is the vehemence and occasional rudeness of his nature with its exuberant speech, full of wit and

26. Wackernagel, *op. cit.*, pp. 245, 246.

mockery, but with its egoism, which makes him an unassimilable and disquieting element in the sodality. The secondhand life of the printer and editor does not satisfy him, he must engage in personal productivity; an insatiable drive for work drives him on, an inner compulsion drives him to contact with men and life, he must have fellowship with youth. He is the born teacher and as such he fills a place for Switzerland."[27]

It was under the formative influence of such a teacher that Conrad Grebel began his educational career. It is to be regretted that he could enjoy the thorough instruction of this "born" teacher only one semester. He himself later regretted it in Vienna where he says that he found no such a thorough teacher as Glarean.[28] And Rudolph Collin, who also came to Vienna after a semester in Glarean's Bursa, was likewise bitterly disappointed. He found the instruction in poetry for instance quite childish in comparison with the instruction he had received from Glarean.[29]

How Grebel would have developed if he had remained in the more earnest and serious Christian humanistic circle of Basel can only be guessed; he did not remain in this circle. And when he left Basel in the spring of 1515 he broke the connection with this circle and its influence forever. The few months which he spent in the autumn of 1521 in Basel as a proofreader in Cratander's printing house were too brief to have any significance.[30] It is evident then that Conrad Grebel was not an "Erasmian Humanist"[31] in the early years of his development even though he may have had a touch of this spirit at the very beginning. It was only after five years had passed, years spent among the quite different humanists of Vienna

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27. Wackernagel, *op. cit.*, p. 151. Glarean's weaknesses will be considered later.

28. Conrad Grebel to Zwingli, Sept. 8, 1517, *Zwingli Werke VII*, 64.

29. Salomon Voegelin, *op. cit.*, pp. 188-190. "Zum vierten begab ich mich nach Wien, vom Studium der Poetik angezogen: daselbst angekommen ward ich von den jungen Schweizern empfangen, besonders von Konrad Grebel, und in die Wohnung aufgenommen. Herr Dr. Joachim Vadianus war da mein Gönner und Lehrer. Aber ich ward in meiner Hoffnung betrogen und fand lauter barbarisches Wesen. Die poetischen Vorlesungen, um deren Willen ich mich dahin begeben, kamen mir ganz kindisch vor, da ich an den Vergilius schon zu Luzern unter Herrn Xylotectus mich gewöhnt hatte. Und nicht nur die Vorlesungen, auch die Sitten der Leute, der Weltlichen wie der Studierenden, missfielen mir, da sie fast alle von unlöblicher Trunksucht verdorben waren . . . Als daher Herr Dr. Vadianus in sein Vaterland verreiste, mochte ich auch nicht länger dort verbleiben, obwohl nicht wegen Mangel im Beutel, sondern kehrte, nachdem zwei Jahre verflossen, ins Vaterland zurück."

30. See his letters from August to November, 1521, from Basel, in *Vad. BrS.* See also the letter of Andreas Cratander to Capito, Sept. 20, 1521, Basel, Kirchenarchiv, *Ms. Ki. Ar. 25a No.* 48.

31. Thus are he and Felix Manz characterized in Hermelink, *Reformation und Gegenreformation, 2. Aufl.* 1931, p. 115.

and Paris,[32] that he once more found himself in a group where the spirit of "Erasmian humanism" was dominant, the group around Zwingli in Zurich. But by that time in 1520 it was a Zwingli who was already the beginning reformer, fast moving on beyond the mere humanism of a moralistic Erasmus.

V

Grebel's Study in Vienna, September 1515 *to June* 1518

In the summer of 1515 Grebel came to Vienna, instead of remaining in Basel. A number of causes may have led to this decision. In the first place his teacher Glarean had closed his "Bursa" at the end of the winter semester 1515, and had gone to Italy in the fore part of April to study at the University of Pavia on the basis of a stipend which Duke Maximilian Sforza had offered to him and other Swiss students.[1] Although, because of the Duke's failure to keep his promise, Glarean soon returned to Basel, sadly disappointed, to reopen his "Bursa" and continue it for another two years, it was too late for at least four of his former pupils, for they had meanwhile made other plans. The students were the four boys from Zurich, Conrad Grebel, his cousin Johann Leopold Grebel, Conrad Moser, and Johannes Hinwiler. Hinwiler had been in Vienna a year earlier as a student under the patronage of Vadian,[2] and it is possible that he promoted the move. But there were also other students from Zurich in Vienna at this time, for example George Binder,[3] who had been there since 1513. Valentin Tschudi, a fellow scholar in Glarean's "Bursa", had also been in Vienna as early as 1512. Another important reason which no doubt influenced Conrad Grebel to go to Vienna, was the four year stipend which his father, the distinguished councilor of Zurich, had secured for him at the hands of Emperor Maximilian.[4] In addition, the reputation of the great Swiss

32. The character of the humanism of Paris in Grebel's student years there will be described later, parts VI and VIII.

1. Fritzsche, *op. cit.*, pp. 16, 17 with proofs.

2. See note 17 below.

3. Binder's personalia, *Zwingli Werke VIII,* 372, note 12. Tschudi's personalia, *Zwingli Werke VII,* 27.

4. A statement of Jacob Grebel in his trial Oct. 12, 1526, found in Egli, *Aktensammlung* No. 1050, p. 498: "Im selbigen fuenfzechenden jar gab Jakob Grebel seinem sun das burkrecht uf, schickt in gan Wien uf die schuel, daselbs er von keiserlicher Majestat provision erhalten." Page 497: "Zu Wien habe sein Sohn alle Fronfasten [the week following the sixth Sunday before Easter] 7 Gl. empfangen, zusammen 28 Gl. Joerg Binder möge davon wissen, da er aus Auftrag desselben bis zu seiner Rückkunft das Stipendium eingezogen habe." Conrad Grebel himself reports in his letter

humanist of St. Gall, Joachim von Watt, called Vadian, who had been a professor for several years in Vienna, certainly attracted the young Swiss students; and finally Zwingli himself, at that time still a parish priest in Glarus, was encouraging as many as possible of the promising young Swiss students of that day to go to Vienna. He had, for example, sent his own brother Jacob Zwingli, and Valentin Tschudi, as early as 1512;[5] and in 1517, Huldreich Kramer went at Zwingli's urging.

Whatever the cause may have been, the four young Zurichers mentioned above, all pupils of Glarean, had prepared themselves in the summer of 1515 for the journey to Vienna. On the fourth of July, 1515, three of them, Moser being excepted, surrendered their citizenship in Zurich.[6] In the matriculation record at Vienna for the summer of 1515 Conrad and Johannes Leopold Grebel are enrolled side by side.[7] In a similar fashion they are enrolled in the summer of 1516 in the matriculation record of the "Rhine Nation" as "scolares." Both times Conrad Moser's name is also enrolled.[8] In Vienna the young students from Zurich were taken under the wing of their compatriot, Vadian. Very likely they lived with other students in the "Brücken-Bursa" which was located just across the street from the main building of the University.[9] The procurator of this "Bursa" receipted Vadian on August 31, 1516 for payment in full of the accounts of all of Vadian's "discipulos" whom he had guaranteed.[10] When Collin came to Vienna in the summer of 1517

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to Zwingli from Vienna, Sept. 8, 1517, that he had already devoted himself to literary studies for two years, supported by a stipend from Emperor Maximilian. "Stipendio Maximiliani caesaris maxime hac tempestate duobus enim annis adiutus ad praedicta literarum studia Viennae incubui, perinde quoque incuburus." *Zwingli Werke VII*, 63. In a letter from Paris Oct. 26, 1518, to Vadian, *Vad. BrS. II*, 207, Grebel requests Vadian to give to his friend Clivanus (Collin) any balance which might remain due to him (Conrad) of the Emperor's stipend.

5. Letter of Ulrich Zwingli to Vadian, Oct. 4, 1512, *Vad. BrS. I*,

6. *Bürgerbuch I*, fol. 45 and fol. 198 verso (latter incorrect) *Ratsmanual* 1515, both in Staatsarchiv Zurich. *Zwingli Werke VII*, 62, note 1 is in error in reporting the surrender of citizenship by Johann Leopold Grebel alone, and also in giving the date as July 3, 1516.

7. Matriculation data in *Zwingli Werke VII*, 62, note 1. Dr. Robert Friedmann of Vienna has kindly checked the matriculation records of the University of Vienna and reports the following data: (1) *Hauptmatrikel Band III, fol. 170, Sommersemester 1515, sub "Rheinische Nation"*: "No. 282 Cunradus Grebel ex Tzürich, No. 283 Johannes Leopod's Grebel ex Tzürich." (2) *Rheinische Matrikel (Band ?) zu 1515 . . . folio 249*: "Conrad Moser ex Torrego, Conrad Grepel ex Thurrego, ... Johannes Leopold Grebel ex Thurego."

8. Moser's matriculation in *Zwingli Werke VII*, 65, note 13.

9. Cf. "Situationsplan von der Wiener Universität und den dazugehörigen Häusern im 15. Jahrhundert" in Joseph, Ritter von Aschbach, *Geschichte der Wiener Universität im ersten Jahrhundert ihres Bestehens, Neue Ausgabe*, Vienna, 1870.

10. Hainz Steltzhammer, procurator of the Bursa Prugk, to Vadian Aug. 31, 1516, *Vad. BrS. I*, 242. However, Vadian had also guaranteed accounts for some students

he was received in the house where the Swiss students lived and where Conrad Grebel gave him a special welcome.[11]

The stipend which Grebel had been granted by the emperor for study in Vienna gave him seven guilders a year for four years and was payable annually at "fronfasten."[12] Only three years of it was used, since he returned home in June, 1518.

The group of Swiss students in Vienna under Vadian's patronage, among whom Grebel was the most outstanding, at least in the judgment of Vadian himself, consisted primarily of young men from Zurich and eastern Switzerland. In his dedication to Conrad Grebel of his 1518 edition of the *Commentary on Pomponius Mela,* Vadian mentions three names, "Rudolph Clivanus, Georg Binder of Zurich and the other youths from Switzerland who have come to Vienna to study the noble arts," and "my other pupils among whom is Andreas Eggius my faithful helper." The dedication which is dated May 1, 1518, at Vienna, contains various references to Grebel which praise him highly as "a youth of very noble character."[13] Georg Binder of Zurich, a special pupil of Vadian and close friend of Grebel, was in Vienna from the summer of 1515 to the summer of 1519.[14] Jacob Zwingli, a brother of Zwingli, had come to Vienna in the autumn of 1512 with Valentin Tschudi, both of them with recommendations from Zwingli to Vadian.[15] Tschudi stayed at Vienna about a year[16] whereas Jacob Zwingli remained permanently, having become a monk in January, 1513, but succumbing to an illness in 1517.[17] In 1514 Johannes Hinwiler had come to Vienna to study with Vadian, had returned to Basel in the autumn of 1514 for a semester's study in Glarean's "Bursa", then had gone back to Vienna again with Grebel in the summer of 1515, where he was still to be found in the summer of 1520.[18] Conrad Moser, who also accompanied Grebel to Vienna in the summer of 1515, remained at least

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in the Bursa "Lilia" of which the procurator also reminded Vadian in a letter of Aug. 4, 1519. There Vadian's brother, Melchior von Watt, was listed among those not paying.

11. Cf. note 35 below.

12. Cf. note 50 below with evidence.

13. *Pomponii Melae Hispani libri de situ orbis tres,* Vienna, 1518. Cf. note 36 *infra.*

14. He wrote from Vienna, July 26, 1519, to Vadian telling of his teaching and of his hope to teach in Zurich.

15. Zwingli to Vadian, Oct. 4, 1512, *Zwingli Werke VII,* 16.

16. He was in Basel during the summer semester 1514, but apparently not matriculated. July 31, 1514 he writes to Zwingli from Basel about his studies under Glarean, *Zwingli Werke VII,* 27, where the personalia are to be found.

17. On Jacob Zwingli cf. note 1 to his letter to Zwingli from Vienna, *Zwingli Werke VII,* 18, where the personalia are to be found.

18. Cf. note 17 above. He writes on July 29, 1520, from Vienna to Vadian.

a year.[19] Johannes Leopold Grebel, a cousin of Conrad who came to Vienna with the same group in the summer of 1515, remained until the summer of 1517; in January 1518 he was already in Paris.[20] Collin (Clivanus) of Lucerne came in the summer of 1517 and remained until the summer of 1519.[21] Another Zurich student in Vienna in Grebel's time was Huldreich Kramer who was warmly recommended by Zwingli to Vadian in June 1517.[22] From other parts of Switzerland came other students to be found among the friends of Grebel. There was Ulrich Lener from Appenzell who wrote to Vadian in 1516 about his probable speedy return to Vienna.[23] From St. Gall there was Melchior von Watt,[24] brother of Vadian, who was in Vienna in 1518, Andreas Eck, who was still there in 1519,[25] and Christopher Crassus (Dick, Schürpff) a sort of assistant to Vadian, who was somewhat older and had been matriculated as early as 1508, but who was still in Vienna in March 1519.[26] Johann Jakob Zurgilgen of Lucerne was a pupil of Vadian in Vienna from 1511 to 1515.[27] Another member of the circle about Vadian, though not a Swiss and no longer a young student, was Kaspar Ursinus Velius of Schweidnitz near Breslau in Silesia. Velius was matriculated in the autumn of 1515, remained only a year, then returned in 1518 as a teacher of Greek, to remain until 1521. In August, 1521, he appeared in Basel where he remained until Febru-

19. Cf. note 54 below.

20. As evidence of his presence in Paris in January 1518, cf. the following passage in the letter of student Hans Heinrich Frey of Zurich to his brother Ambrosius Frey, dated Paris, January 13, 1518: "Item witter wus von mim sold ich meint nur set jetz XII kronen sin werden so ist mir nun sechs die wil und min herren von Zürich kein studente hand geschickt so ist der Ritter (sc. Felix, father of Johann Leopold) Grebels sun da gsin und hat in ingnan und ist mir also nut me den vi kronen worden und aber er mus mirs wider gen." Staatsarchiv Zurich, A 26. 134; printed in *Zwingliana II*, pp. 92, 93.

21. Cf. notes 19 and 43 below.

22. Zwingli to Vadian, June 13, 1517, *Zwingli Werke VII*, 54. Grebel mentions him in the letter to Zwingli from Vienna, Sept. 8, 1517, cited above. He was probably a son of the Andreas Kramer in Zurich, who was a good friend of Grebel. Cf. Kramer's testimony at Jacob Grebel's trial, Oct. 1526, where he calls himself "a good comrade" of Conrad until the "Wiedertouf" separated them. Egli, *Aktensammlung*, No. 1050, p. 495.

23. Ulrich Lener to Vadian, Appenzell, July 12, 1516, *Vad. BrS. I*, 159.

24. Melchior von Watt to his brother Vadian, Vienna, July 16, 1518. *Vad. BrS. II*, 193. On March 6, 1519 he wrote from St. Gall. *Vad. BrS. II*, 220.

25. Andreas Eck to Vadian, Vienna, June 14, 1519. "Ex aedibus Joannis de Hinnwil," *Vad. BrS. II*, 231.

26. Zwingli to Crassus, March 23, 1519, *Zwingli Werke VII*, 68, where the personalia are to be found.

27. Zurgilgen to Zwingli from Paris, Oct. 26, 1518, *Vad. BrS. III*, 174. He greets his former comrades, Vadian's pupils, who are still in Vienna, "reliquum omnibus discipulis tuis, meis commilitonibus, salutem."

ary, 1522.[28] During this time he lived in the house of Cratander and renewed his acquaintance with Grebel who was also there from August to October, 1522.[29] It is interesting to note that Johannes Bünderlin of Linz, who became an Anabaptist in 1526 at Augsburg under the influence of Hans Denck, also came to Vienna in 1515 in the same semester that Grebel came. He was enrolled as an auditor in the matriculation record dated September 19, 1515, and remained in Vienna until 1519.[30] It is doubtful, however, that he and Grebel became acquainted.

There probably were others in the group of Swiss students who gathered around Vadian but these are all the names which are definitely known. The inner circle probably consisted of Conrad Grebel, Johannes Hinwiler, George Binder, Rudolph Collin, Christoph Dick, Conrad Moser, Andreas Eck, Johannes Leopold Grebel, and Melchior von Watt. In a letter dated January 29, 1519 in Paris, Grebel greets the following students in Vienna: Melchior von Watt "my close friend"; Johannes Hinwiler, "my old friend"; Collin, "a close friend"; Binder, "dearer to me, although he did not exactly desire it"; Andreas Eck, "bound to me by love and mutual service."[31] Ulrich Lener writes to Vadian from Appenzell, February 14, 1516, mentioning a visit to the parents of Conrad Grebel, George Binder and Johannes Hinwiler.[32] On February 27, 1517 Lener writes again to Vadian and greets *"omnes discipulos tuos,* especially your brother, Johannes Hinwiler, George (Binder), and Conrad (Grebel)."[33] Benedikt Burgauer, later a parish priest in St. Gall and friend of Grebel, is said also to have been a pupil of Vadian in Vienna.[34] It is interesting to note that when Rudolph Collin wrote his autobiography in 1576, fifty years after coming to Vienna, the friendly reception which Conrad Grebel gave him upon his arrival in the summer of 1517 still stood out in his memory, for Grebel is the only one of the Vienna group whom he mentions by

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28. Ursinus Velius was in correspondence with Vadian from 1513 to 1521. Cf. "Caspar Ursinus Velius" by Gustav Bauch in *Ungarische Revue, VII. Jahrgang,* 1887.

29. *Basel, Kirchenarchiv, Mscr. Ki. Ar.* 25a, No. 48. Ursinus writes on Oct. 1, 1521 from Basel to Vadian and praises Grebel, "Dedi hoc negotii Grebellio, adulescenti modis omnibus egregio atque in omnes mire officioso, qui de aliis quoque, quae scribere supersedeo, tecum communicabit. Uxorem tuam, honestissimam feminam, et, quantum ex fratris indole coniectare licet, adulescentem suavem vel ignoti nomine salutem dices." *Vad. BrS. II,* 392.

30. Christian Neff, article "Bünderlin," in *Mennonitisches Lexikon I,* p. 299.

31. Grebel to Vadian, Paris, Jan. 29, 1519, *Vad. BrS. II,* 215.

32. Ulrich Lener to Vadian, Appenzell, Feb. 14, 1516, *Vad. BrS. I,* 147.

33. Ulrich Lener to Vadian, Appenzell, Feb. 27, 1517, *Vad. BrS. I,* 180.

34. E. Arbenz, "Joachim Vadian beim Ubergang vom Humanismus zum Kirchenstreit" in *Neujahrsblatt des Historischen Vereins St. Gallen,* 1895, p. 11.

name.[35] In Vadian's *Commentary on Pomponius Mela,* published in 1518, the students of Vadian who were his close friends were allowed to contribute Latin poems. The names of the contributors are Conrad Grebel, Johannes Hinwiler, George Binder, Rudolph Clivanus (Collin), and Christopher Crassus.[36]

But more important for the development of Grebel than his student comrades were his teachers. Here it is Vadian who stands out above all the others as his particularly beloved teacher and patron, yes, as intimate friend. The fifty-seven extant letters (from July 1515 to May 1525) which Grebel wrote to his honored teacher, who was also his brother-in-law after August, 1519, testify in a lively and interesting fashion to the warm and intimate relations between the two.[37] In the very first letter Grebel addresses Vadian as "dearest teacher" (*preceptor charissimus*).[38] His respect for Vadian at times becomes worship. In Paris January 29, 1519, he writes to Vadian that he and Leopold are ready to fight for him if any one should attempt to undertake anything against the honor of Vadian.[39] The most beautiful tribute to Vadian from Grebel's pen also occurs in this letter, where Grebel expresses himself as follows: "You are the only one, the one who transcends all others in sincerity, in uprightness, in fineness, in refinement, and in erudition, easily the first among all the Swiss. . . . You are, if I may say it in a few words, the oracle of our entire fatherland." It should be remembered, however, that in this letter Grebel is endeavoring to promote a marriage match between Vadian and his sister Martha. However, almost every letter of Grebel's contains some tribute to Vadian. This may be in part explainable as a humanistic custom, but the tributes go far beyond the customary limit. In addition it should be noted that Grebel brings to Vadian his most intimate problems and con-

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35. Cf. note 10 above, "Daselbst (Wien) angekommen ward ich von den jungen Schweizern empfangen, besonders von Conrad Grebel."

36. *Pomponii Melae Hispani libri de situ orbis tres, adiectis J. Vadiani Helvetii in eosdem scholiis, addita gnogne in Geographium Catechesi et epistola Vadiani ad Agricolam digna lectu.* First edition by Lucas Alantsee in Vienna, May 1, 1518; second edition enlarged, by Andreas Cratander, Basel, Jan., 1522; third edition, Paris, 1530. It was Vadian's greatest work. Cf. A. Horawitz, *Zur Geschichte des deutschen Humanismus,* Jena, 1874, p. 19.

37. All letters are printed in the *Vadianische Briefsammlung.* Only Johannes Zwick with 72 letters and Heinrich Bullinger with 85, are represented by a larger number of letters, and both wrote their letters over a much longer period of time than Grebel, all of whose letters fall within 8 years. Only one letter from Vadian to Grebel (Dec. 28, 1524) has been preserved.

38. Grebel to Vadian, July 23, 1518, *Vad. BrS. II,* 462.

39. Grebel to Vadian, Paris, Jan. 29, 1529, *Vad. BrS. II,* 211.

cerns.[40] Vadian is his father confessor, his counselor, his dependable personal friend, and also his physician. This intimate and close friendship developed during the three year association with the honored teacher in Vienna. The regard was mutual, for again and again the letters which Grebel wrote and those which Vadian wrote, testify that Vadian held Grebel in very high esteem, higher than any other of his pupils.[41] Vadian chose Grebel as the author of the introduction for the second edition of his *Commentary on Pomponius Mela* (1522). As late as 1540, after Grebel had been dead for fourteen years, Vadian still refers to him as "my Conrad Grebel of Zurich endowed with great gifts" [*magnis dotibus praeditus*].[42]

Vadian came to Vienna in 1501 as a seventeen year old student and remained there, with the exception of three years, until 1518. At first he was a student in the philosophical faculty where he heard Celtes, Camers, and Cuspinian, and where he studied the classical disciplines as well as natural science and astronomy.[43] In 1508 he became a professor in the same faculty. Thanks to his rich endowment of natural gifts, Vadian's progress upward has been rapid. Beginning in 1509 he published a whole series of poems, addresses, monographs, and new editions of Latin authors, the latter often with his own commentary. In 1514 he was crowned poet laureate by the Emperor Maximilian, and in 1516 he was appointed professor of rhetoric as the successor to the great Angelo Cospi. In the same year he became rector of the university for the winter semester. About this time Vadian spent some time in the study of medicine and in 1516 won the degree of doctor of medicine in addition to his earlier doctor of philosophy.[44] He had a particular interest in geography and was one of the chief promoters of this new study at the University, a

40. Cf. the letters of Grebel to Vadian, Feb. 1, 1521, July 22, 1521, and many others of the years 1519 to 1522, finally the letter of Feb. 6, 1522, in which he reports his secret marriage. One has the feeling that because of their intimate character some of the letters should not be published.

41. Cf., e. g., his address to Grebel in the *Mela-kommentar.* Vienna, 1518.

42. *D. Joachimi Vadiani Cos. Sangallensis ad D. Joan. Zuiccium Constantiensis ecclesiae Pastorem Epistola. Tiguri apud Frosch.* The Epistola is dated at the end, Aug. 1, 1540. The copy of the Stadtbibliothek Frankfurt a. M. was used.

43. Joachim Pressel, *Vadian* in *Leben und Ausgewählte Schriften der Väter und Begründer der reformierten Kirche,* Elberfeld, 1860; Ernst Götzinger in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie;* and Aschbach, *Geschichte der Wiener Universität Band II, Die Wiener Universität und ihre Humanisten im Zeitalter Kaiser Maximilians I.* Vienna, 1877, pp. 392-409.

44. Conrad Grebel observes in his letter to Zwingli from Vienna, Sept. 8, 1517, that Vadian's medical studies just at this time were probably a reason why he was not so successful in his teaching. "Hos ego, ne aliquid obiicas, in Vadiano, non sua negligentia, non maligni natura ingenii praepedito, sed medicinae candidato scilicet tanquam inter Orci cancros derentem desydero." Grebel to Zwingli, *Zwingli Werke VII,* 63.

subject which had been altogether forgotten in the middle ages.[45] He was one of the first to undertake travels for the study of geography. His ascent of Mt. Pilatus near Lucerne in August, 1518, said to have been the first scientific mountain ascent, (Conrad Grebel accompanied him), made him a forerunner of the Alpinists of modern times.[46] It may be worth while to note the opinion of Professor Aschbach regarding Vadian, as expressed in his history of the University of Vienna. "Joachim Vadianus belongs to the most versatile, most learned, and most important humanists of his time; he was also one of the most fruitful authors, who devoted himself in his writings not only to the humanistic disciplines but also to other fields of knowledge, so that he may rightfully be called a polyhistor. He distinguished himself not only by his exceptional erudition but also by his critical judgment and his fine taste. More than this he was a splendid man, who made friends everywhere in the learned world as well as in the common walks of life by his congeniality and his willingness to render service."[47] But Vadian did not feel altogether at home in Vienna. In June, 1518, he suddenly left the city and the university of his great achievements, probably on account of the plague, and returned to his native town of St. Gall.[48] There he soon became a leading figure as a physician and statesman. In December, 1525, he was elected burgomaster of the city and fought the battle of the Reformation as a true friend of Zwingli.

Such was the man who for three years in the decisive period of Conrad Grebel's development was his teacher, friend, and guide. It is no wonder that Grebel esteemed him so highly. It may well be that Vadian was not the pedagogue that Glarean was, as Grebel openly states in his letter to Zwingli,[49] but as a human being, as a man and a personality, he towered far above that restless and confused figure that Grebel had known for five months in Basel some years before.

It is not possible to determine exactly what Grebel studied in the three years of his university career in Vienna. He himself reports very little about his studies. The only letter which he wrote from Vienna, the one addressed to Zwingli on September 8, 1517, contains a brief statement in which he reports that he is devoting

45. Cf. Aschbach, *op. cit.*, pp. 403-406.

46. Ernst Götzinger in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie.*

47. Aschbach, *op. cit.*, p. 397.

48. Cf. the correspondence from *Vad. BrS.* pertaining to this trip. See also below, chapter VI for the date of the journey, given by Grebel, who was Vadian's traveling companion.

49. Grebel to Zwingli, Sept. 8, 1517, *Zwingli Werke VII*, 64.

himself to the seven liberal arts but will probably not attain the baccalaureate degree.[50] Johann Leopold, he says, will probably secure the degree, and is so busy with his study of logic that he must leave the letter writing to Conrad. Later, in letters from Paris and Zurich, Grebel refers twice to his study in Vienna under Vadian. In January 29, 1519 he mentions the fact that Budaeus in Paris interprets a passage in Pliny somewhat differently from the way Vadian had interpreted it to his pupils.[51] And on July 15, 1520 he writes from Zurich and mentions "Solinus, whom I now remember that you taught to us an age ago."[52] Without doubt Grebel studied geography with Vadian, for otherwise his warm and active participation in the two editions of Mela in 1518 and 1522 would be impossible.[53] The fact that Grebel mentions many new editions of the classics in his letter to Zwingli from Vienna indicates also that he knew the Latin classic writers quite well.[54]

Of teachers in Vienna in addition to Vadian, Grebel mentions only Wolfgang Heiligmaier. Twice in letters to Vadian he calls him his patron (*"patronum meum"*).[55] In the letter of January 29, 1519 from Paris he expresses himself in a very warm manner regarding the love, friendship, and scholarship which he had experienced in his contact with Heiligmaier and acknowledges his debt to him for the same. Other good friends of Vadian at the University with whom Grebel no doubt became acquainted[56] were Rudolph Agricola the younger, professor of rhetoric and poetic, 1515 to 1518; George Tannstetter (Collimitius), professor of mathematics and astronomy, 1503 to 1535; Angelus Cospus, professor of Greek, 1505(?)-1516; and Johann Spiesshaimer (Cuspinian), professor of philosophy, 1493-1529. The latter was, with Conrad Celtes, the most noted of the Vienna humanists, famed both as a statesman and historian. He was the particular friend and coworker of Vadian. Finally Johann Camers, 1498(?) to 1531(?), should be mentioned, a scholar who published many new editions of the Latin classics. The great Celtes, who had been the founder of

50. *Zwingli Werke VII*, 63.

51. Grebel to Vadian, Jan. 29, 1519, *Vad. BrS. II*, 213.

52. Grebel to Vadian, July 13, 1520, *Vad. BrS. II*, 327.

53. As mentioned above, Grebel wrote the foreword to the reader for the second edition in 1522. At the close of the first edition Vadian also emphasizes the help he received from Grebel.

54. Grebel to Zwingli, Sept. 8, 1517, cited above, note 49.

55. Grebel to Vadian, Paris, Sept. 26, 1518, and Jan. 29, 1519, *Vad. BrS. II*, 203, 215. That Hailigmaier was a close friend of Vadian is gathered from his letter to Vadian of Sept. 23, 1518, from Vienna, where he expresses his longing to have Vadian return to Vienna, *Vad. BrS. II*, 201.

56. Cf. Aschbach, *op. cit.*, pp. 403-406.

humanism in Vienna, died in 1508. After his death Vadian was the outstanding humanist at the University.[57]

The humanism of Vienna was far different from the humanism which Grebel had briefly touched in its Erasmian form in Basel. In Basel the humanists constituted a group of men who in general stood on a high moral plane and who strove with conscientious religious earnestness toward the goal of a renaissance of Christianity.[58] Glarean was probably the only one in Basel who devoted himself expressly to the natural sciences and geography, and concerned himself less with religious interests. How different it was in Vienna.[59] There humanism had made its entry at the end of the fifteenth century under Conrad Celtes who came to Vienna in 1497. He himself was a German, but most of the other humanists were Italians. Later the number of German humanists increased. The Italian humanists were quite different in character from Erasmus and Rhenanus, and the later German humanists like Collimitius, Agricola and Vadian, devoted themselves chiefly to geographic and historical studies or busied themselves in editing the Latin classics. Both types in Vienna, Italian and German, concerned themselves exceedingly little about a "renaissance of Christianity." In the main they found their satisfaction in editing and commenting upon the old Greek and Latin writers, particularly in the period from 1510 to 1520. Vadian himself had the record of editing about twenty such classics in eight years from 1511 to 1518.[60] Celtes had founded a "Danubian Society" or "humanist-sodality," but the society soon disintegrated. Certainly there was nothing of the close and intimate friendship of humanists in Vienna during Grebel's residence there (1515-1518) such as characterized the "Sodalitas Basiliensis." In view of the secular character of the humanism of Vienna, it is safe to infer that the contribution which the Vienna period made to Grebel's development was quite small from the point of view of ethical-religious growth, even though intellectually it probably did a great deal for him.

Just as important for the development of the personality of the young Grebel as his teachers were the general conditions and mode of life of the students and professors, and the character of the life in general in the city of Vienna. The University at that time was

57. Concluded from Aschbach, *op. cit.*, p. 397, et passim. See also Horawitz, *op. cit.*, p. 189.

58. See above, part IV, note 26.

59. The following description is given by Rudolph Kink, *Geschichte der Kaiserlichen Universität zu Wien, Bd. II, Zweite Abteilung*, "Die Zeit der Humanisten," Vienna, 1854, and Aschbach, *op. cit.*

60. A. Horawitz, *op. cit.*, p. 189.

enjoying a golden age, with an annual enrollment of approximately 5,000 students, of whom a full half were members of the so-called "Rhine Nation," coming chiefly from South and West Germany and Switzerland, and an annual number of new matriculants of between six hundred and eight hundred. The largest enrollment in the University was in the years 1515, 1516, 1517, just when Grebel was there. After 1520 the enrollment declined very rapidly so that by about 1530 only a few dozen students are reported to have listened to the lectures of the professors.[61]

The city of Vienna itself was also enjoying a golden age at this time. Under Emperor Maximilian (1490-1518) Vienna was "a great, beautiful, wealthy, luxury-loving city." "Tall houses, broad courts, resplendent churches, commerce on a grand scale with all corners of the world, together with a love for display, luxury, and sensual pleasures,"[62]—that was the city of Vienna in which Grebel spent three years of his young life. But the very richness of the life of the city on the Danube constituted a great danger for the students. Enea Silvio said with justification that Vienna had many obstacles to study,[63] for he was astonished at the combativeness of the Viennese and the drunkenness and prostitution which were common everywhere. Rudolph Collin was astonished at the great amount of drunkenness among the students and citizens when he arrived in Vienna in 1517, and shocked at the "barbaric" morals of the city.[64] Excess and licentiousness increased on every hand.[65] Student brawls were frequent. The overseers were not able to maintain discipline, and it is highly improbable that the young Swiss students were an exception to the rule. Vadian himself, as an eighteen year old student, had manifested an unusual tendency to brawling.[66] A letter of Johannes Hinwiler has been preserved from the year 1518 in which he requests 130 guilders from his father as payment for damages for an arm which he had cut off in a brawl.[67] Grebel had also been wounded in a brawl, as he reports in a letter of July 31, 1518 to Zwingli.[68] He refers to this same experience in a letter of January 14, 1520, to Vadian from Paris[69] in which he says that his father had

61. Figures from Aschbach, *op. cit.*, p. 125.
62. Description of conditions in Vienna found in Horawitz, *op. cit.*, pp. 139-141.
63. Horawitz, *op. cit.*, p. 141.
64. Collin's autobiography, *op. cit.*, p. 189.
65. Aschbach, *op. cit.*, p. 131.
66. Horawitz, *op. cit.*, p. 188.
67. Johannes Hinwiler to Vadian, July 16, 1518, *Vad. BrS. III*, 168.
68. The letter in *Zwingli Werke VII*, 63, cited above.
69. Grebel to Vadian, Jan. 14, 1520, *Vad. BrS. II*, 261.

ordered him to forsake the bad company which had twice already almost cost him not only his money but also his life. But, says Grebel, the companions who had dragged him down in Vienna were honorable young men, although he had been so badly hurt there that his hand was half cut off. His father, says Conrad, had heard things from Vienna which were colored much worse than they really were, and for this reason had requested the son to return home.

There is no justification for thinking that Grebel lived differently from the average student of Vienna in these years. On the contrary it is evident that he suffered both morally and spiritually from the life that he lived, and it is altogether probable that the illness from which he suffered his entire life was acquired in Vienna. Soon after his return home from Vienna in 1518 he was compelled to visit the thermal baths at Baden in the endeavor to heal a virulent abscess on his back, but to no avail. The abscess became so serious that for a time he could not write.[70] On January 29, 1519, he writes from Paris that he is suffering in his feet and that not less than had been the case already in Vienna.[71] He admits that his suffering probably had its origin in the fact that he had "often associated carnally with females," and despairs of ever ridding himself of it (although it is curable) if Vadian cannot help him. Again and again he refers to his suffering in his feet. On April 25, 1521, his feet are so inflamed that he cannot travel;[72] in July, 1521, he reports that the illness often attacks the joints and the feet at the same time;[73] on November 2, 1521, he requests Vadian again for counsel regarding the use of baths as a curative measure.[74] As late as May, 1525, Grebel writes to Castelberger that he has great difficulty in walking on account of his feet.[75] What the illness was under which Grebel suffered can no longer be determined with accuracy. It may have been rheumatism, or the gout, or even something more serious. At any rate it was apparently something which was a result of his loose living in Vienna.

A general characterization of the spiritual and ethical development of Grebel's personality will be attempted later, but it may be permissible here to say that it is justifiable to assume that the three years which Grebel spent in Vienna were decisive in his development.

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70. Grebel to Vadian, Sept. 26, 1518, *Vad. BrS. II*, 202.
71. Grebel to Vadian, Jan. 29, 1519, cited above.
72. Grebel to Vadian, April 25, 1521, *Vad. BrS. II*, 364.
73. Grebel to Vadian, July 22, 1521, *Vad. BrS. III*, 228.
74. Grebel to Vadian, Nov. 2, 1521, *Vad. BrS. II*, 398.
75. Grebel to Andreas Castelberger, May, 1525, in *Mennonite Quarterly Review, Vol. I*, (July 1927), p. 43.

A careful study of the letters which he wrote from 1517 to 1522 together with the scattered sources found elsewhere, indicates that the characteristics of his personality were fixed in all essential points during this time. Conrad Grebel left Vienna at the age of 18 or 20 as a cultured, gifted, attractive and congenial but temperamental young humanist, ambitious, anxious to make his mark in life, with an urge to deeds, with significant attainments in the study of the ancient classics and geography, and with abundant promise of becoming a leader. On the deeper side of life, little of ethical religious concern or serious thinking, or even of ethical discipline is to be noticed. He looks forward to a leading position among the humanistic scholars of his homeland, a land for which he already has a strong patriotic feeling.[76] Like his revered teacher, Vadian, whom the Viennese printer Lucas Alantsee so sharply scolded because he had left beautiful cultured Vienna to live among "the crude unlearned peasants and cow-herds of Switzerland,"[77] Grebel was no cosmopolitan of the Erasmian type, but a patriotic Swiss, anxious to contribute something worth while to raise the level of culture in the homeland.

(To be continued)

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76. In his address to Grebel written as a supplement to the *Mela-Kommentar* published in 1518, Vadian depicts Grebel and the other young Swiss students as men who had a genuine love for their homeland and who later would bring honor and renown to their fatherland. Grebel's patriotism is testified to at least twice. In his letter to Zwingli from Vienna, Sept. 8, 1517, he relates that the Swiss bought out the entire supply of "barbarissima soliloquia Vimphelingii illius scelestissimi crabronis" (there were 300 copies) in order that the name of Switzerland should not suffer: "quo Helvetiorum fama lederatur minus." Indeed an expensive patriotic service. In his "Poem" to the 1518 *Mela-Kommentar* Grebel makes some very patriotic statements. He speaks of "Helvetia's mighty soil," of "love for the fatherland," and states that Vadian wrote his book to make Helvetia as victorious in the realm of learning as she was on the battlefield of war.

77. Very amusing are the statements of Alantsee. Three times he reproaches Vadian; he cannot understand it at all. "Und ains gefelt mier an euch nix, mein Herr Doktor, dass ir von der universitet zu groben pauren gezogen habt; sy wissent nit, wass gelertt leytt send. Wo ewer kunst hie geacht wer worden hie fuer gold und margariten, so ist ess pey den pauren kom kiselston; sy verstand ess nit," Alantsee to Vadian, Vienna, Nov. 1, 1519, *Vad. BrS. II*, 253. "Mich reutt, dass ir under den groben kuemelcher wonen solt und habt verlassen doctam et pulchram Viennam," A. to V., Vienna, July 23, 1520, *Vad. BrS. II*, 295. "Ich wolt, dass ir pey uns zu Wien mit hauss wertt und nit pey den groben ungelerten pawren. Ich bin auch ein paur; mocht under in nit wonen mit iren seltzamenn conspirationes und factiones contra principes," A. to V., Feb. 2, 1522, from Nuremberg. *Vad. BrS. II*, 420.

THE CONVERSION OF MENNO SIMONS: A QUADRICENTENNIAL TRIBUTE

Cornelius Krahn

Early in the year 1536, probably in January, Menno Simons left the Catholic Church and took upon himself "the heavy cross of his Lord." On his subsequent flight from Witmarsum, he sought out fellow believers, who also were being subjected to a severe persecution, and comforted and strengthened them. About a year after his conversion he was ordained a bishop of the Mennonite Church in Groningen. Very appropriately do the Mennonite Churches of today reflect seriously upon the 400th anniversary of these events. May these few lines contribute to a better understanding of their significance. I shall first discuss the religious situation in Menno's community before he left it; then will follow with the actual "departure from papacy"; and finally will point out the significance of this step for the Anabaptist Churches of that time.

1. *Menno Simons in the Service of the Catholic Church*

After Luther's theses had been posted on the doors of the Castle Church of Wittenberg in 1517 and his three chief reformation writings had appeared in 1520, the Reformation spread very rapidly in Germany and the neighboring countries. Soon Luther's name was held in great esteem in the Netherlands and his writings carefully read. Here Erasmus of Rotterdam, who later became an opponent of Luther, had prepared the way for the new movement. In these confused and troubled times a Friesian peasant from Witmarsum (a village between Franeker and Bolsward), Menno Simons by name, was ordained a priest in the Catholic Church in Utrecht, Holland, in his 28th year (1524). He came of peasant stock and had not received a particularly humanistic education such as his great contemporaries had enjoyed, but rather the limited formal training of the Catholic priest. In the neighboring village of Pingjum, not far from Witmarsum, he found his first parish. At first the great events of the time do not appear to have influenced the young vicar, but soon after he began his service in the church they caused him great conflicts of conscience.

The best source material concerning Menno's conversion comes from his own pen. In 1554 he wrote "A Clear Answer to a Writing of Gellius Faber," who was at that time the Reformed pastor in

Emden and had attacked Menno. Faber had asserted that Menno had been called as a preacher, not by a true church, but by "churches led astray by false prophets." In his reply to Faber Menno states that for reasons of modesty he would rather have remained silent, but he felt himself compelled to confess how he had "come to a knowledge of his Lord and Savior . . . and into His service." One must not forget in reading this lively and stirring presentation today, that Menno here describes his conversion twenty years after the event and at a time when he felt that every day he had spent in the Catholic Church was a shame and disgrace. Hence he sketches conditions of the Catholic Church, as well as his own life as a member in it, in the darkest colors.

Menno had two companions in office and age in his congregation, one of whom was his superior in office. Both co-workers knew the Bible, but Menno himself confesses that he had not yet touched the book for fear of being misled by it. Ashamed he exclaimed later: "Behold, so stupid a preacher was I for about two years!" With his companions he spent his time in gambling, drinking, and other frivolous pastimes, and in making light of the Scriptures.

This carelessness and indifference of Menno was one day suddenly interrupted by a fearful doubt as to the validity of his traditional faith. While he was administering the mass he began to doubt whether the bread and wine were actually changed into the flesh and blood of Christ, as taught by the Church. He was frightened by these whisperings of Satan, as he considered the doubts, but could not free himself from them through sighing, prayer, or confession. From this experience we may properly conclude that Menno was after all not wholly untouched by the great movements of his time, even in his little isolated Friesian village. The doubts could have arisen in his mind, it is true, without external cause, but since at this time, especially in the Netherlands, grave doubts were being spread concerning the doctrine of transubstantiation, and since already a new view of the eucharist was gaining ground, it is probable that Menno in some way came in contact with this new view, even though it cannot really be proved. On account of this criticism of the Catholic view of the eucharist, the reformers in the Netherlands were in early times called "Sacramentists."

After Menno had been tormented for a year by his doubts, he finally turned to the Bible and searched it to find help on his particular problem. "I did not get very far in it before I saw that we had been deceived," is the way Menno summarizes the results of the search. In the Scriptures he found certainty concerning the

Lord's Supper. So he found that two authorities with conflicting teachings on this subject claimed his allegiance. One of these authorities was the Church. One must remember what the Church meant to a faithful believer at that time. It was treason merely to dare to raise the covers of the Bible to seek advice. So when Menno once turned to the Scripture, he had already recognized a second authority beside that of the Church. The two authorities could not long stand side by side in Menno's thinking; one would have to fall. In the meantime Menno had found help from another source; he had read the works of Martin Luther. Luther taught him that the Scriptures should have the first place of authority and that transgression of the teachings of the Church could not lead to eternal death. Thus gradually, with the aid of Luther, the Scriptures became the authority for Menno, the source of his Sunday sermons, and Menno became known as an "evangelical preacher." Although Menno reports of this time that "the Lord had enlightened him" and that he was increasing in the knowledge of the Scriptures, he nevertheless complains that "the world still loved him and he the world." But yet, finding the Scriptures was the first step in Menno's development. Before the second step can be presented we must retrace our steps somewhat.

The lay-preacher Melchior Hofmann, who as a follower of Luther had traveled on long journeys into the Baltic regions, had come in contact with some semi-fanatical Anabaptists in Strassburg and in 1530 had been baptized by them. In the same year he came to East Friesland where he had earlier had a sphere of influence. Here he now introduced the baptism of believers, in accord with his new faith. The new movement spread to wide circles in this territory. Baptism became the symbol about which new groups of believers gathered everywhere. When Hofmann left Emden, after a short stay, he left Jan Volkerts Trijpmaker behind as his successor, and returned to Strassburg, where he was arrested. At the close of 1530, Trijpmaker baptized in Emden a certain Sicke Freerks Snijder (a tailor by trade) who settled in Leeuwarden in West Friesland, where he soon died a martyr's death, being executed because of his new "baptist" faith. Meanwhile congregations of Anabaptists spread very rapidly.

Menno, who lived not far from Leeuwarden, heard the news that someone had been executed there because of a second baptism. "It sounded strange to my ears," says he, "to hear of a second baptism." This incident made a deep impression on him. Though adult or believer's baptism was not altogether a new idea to him, nevertheless this event made the issue much livelier and more real to

him. After this the thought of believer's baptism never left him. He knew now however where to look in case of doubt. He "searched the Scriptures diligently and considered the question seriously, but could find nothing about infant baptism." But he was not satisfied with that. He questioned his fellow priests, the Church Fathers, Luther, Butzer, and Bullinger. In their writings he found various grounds for infant baptism, in which "each one followed only his own reason," so that he saw himself deceived by all in this question of baptism. In spite of this he soon accepted the call to be priest in his native village of Witmarsum "from desire for gain and to win a greater name for himself."

2. *Menno's Withdrawal from the Catholic Church*

When Menno had served his congregation in Witmarsum about a year, some Anabaptists appeared in the community. He says he did not know where they came from. Meanwhile however Anabaptism in the North had undergone considerable change since the time of Melchior Hofmann in 1530. The original biblicistic Anabaptism of Switzerland had already been greatly modified in Strassburg by Hofmann, who was inclined toward prophecy and allegory. Hofmann preached convincingly in Emden and elsewhere of the imminent judgment of God and of the accompanying redemption of the children of God, his fellow believers, as his primary message. But after Hofmann's imprisonment in Strassburg the movement was robbed of its leader and underwent a radical change. Erroneous elements soon took the upper hand. Especially notorious in this respect were the baker Jan Matthijs of Haarlem and Jan van Leiden. Münster, an episcopal city in Westphalia became for them the New Jerusalem. Hofmann's preaching of the coming kingdom, they said, was now to become a reality, and the proclamation of the impending judgment of God was interpreted to mean that the faithful Brethren were to execute judgment on the unbelieving world. Terrible persecution by the Catholic Church hastened this process of change from a peaceful movement to a revengeful revolutionary theocracy. Many became involved in it who could not sanction this development. However, many other "true" Brethren opposed the development which was to reach a climax in Münster in 1535. To these belonged the brothers Obbe and Dirk Philips of Leeuwarden.

As the Münsterite movement developed, apostles were sent out from Münster to proclaim the New Kingdom. Writings were distributed far and wide which had been drawn up by the former Lutheran preacher, B. Rothmann, writings which summoned the faithful to come to the New Jerusalem. Several factors played a

part in the developing Münsterite movement: the need of a reformation in the church, the bitter persecution, and general social conditions. In the new kingdom all the problems of religious, economic, social, and political life were to be solved according to the pattern of a Biblical theocracy. Jan van Leiden, who had been anointed King of the New Jerusalem in 1534, was considered to be the David of the new Kingdom of God, and was supposed to have received a special divine commission. Shortly before the anointing of Jan van Leiden, Münster had been besieged by the Bishop. Nevertheless the emissaries who managed to leave the city were very successful in arousing popular interest. Great troops of Brethren started for Münster, most of whom were stopped on the way. As these groups were organized in various places for the trek to Münster, frequent riots and revolts occurred. In the Old Cloister at Bolsward, near Witmarsum, such a group had entrenched itself. After a siege, the group finally had to surrender in the spring of 1535. All were killed, including some of the members of Menno's congregation, and even Menno's own brother. Just as the martyr death of Sicke Freerks in 1530 had led Menno to a firm conviction on the question of baptism, so this tragedy of the Old Cloister in his immediate neighborhood led him to the next step in his development, the withdrawal from the Catholic Church.

Even today when we read Menno's pamphlet, "Leaving the Papacy," we feel the trembling heartbeat caused by the conflicts by which Menno was beset. Ever since 1531 he had been convinced that the view of baptism and communion held by the Brethren was the correct one. He did not join them because he wanted to "keep away from the cross of Christ," as he himself reports. We should not forget however that Menno pictures his "departure from the church" in the light of self-condemnation for his life in the church. Professor Kühler rightly calls attention to the fact that in the time of transition Menno had at first counted on a reformation in the Church, and that he only gradually became aware that the acceptance of the new was equivalent to a break with the old. For the later time (1533-35) it must be pointed out that the radical tendencies that appeared in the development of a wing of the Brethren made it really difficult for him to decide for them wholeheartedly. And so he found himself in this position: in his heart he had broken with the Church, but he could not associate with the Brethren who had given the impetus for the break, because he noticed that they were "zealous, but lacking in doctrine." He had a twofold battle to fight in the pulpit and in his pastoral work, for he fought against evils in the Catholic Church, as well as against the errors of the

Münsterites. Twice he had dealings with important representatives of the latter. In his conflict with the "erroneous sect" he acquired the reputation among the Catholics that he could easily stop the mouth of his opponents; this praise was bitter to him however, for it made him appear as the "defender and security for the impenitent, all of whom were depending on him." He now confessed: "That was a severe blow to my heart; I sighed and begged: Lord, help me, that I may not load upon myself the sins of others." This burden was on his heart even before the catastrophe at the Old Cloister at Bolsward.

The tragedy at Bolsward is described by Menno as follows: "After many terrible edicts, much killing and executing, some poor erring sheep who were without a shepherd, gathered at the Old Cloister, and there under the influence of Münster, contrary to the spirit, word, and example of Christ, they drew the sword in self-defence, concerning which Peter had commanded to put it into its sheath." The blood of these misled sheep fell so hot upon Menno's heart, he says, that he could no longer rest. He was humiliated by the zeal which led them to sacrifice their lives for their conviction while he lived in ease, particularly since he realized that in many points in which they opposed the errors of the Catholic Church he agreed with them. He recognized it as his task to judge much more severely than he had to that time, the false baptism, Lord's Supper, and worship of his Church, and to lead the ignorant erring sheep to the true pasture. "My heart trembled," says Menno, "I asked God with sighs and tears to give me, wretched sinner, the gift of His grace; to create a pure heart within me; to forgive graciously my impure way of life through the merits of the blood of Christ; to grant me wisdom, spirit, generosity, and a manly courage, that I might proclaim His mighty name and preach His whole Word unadulterated, and bring His truth to the light of day." This may be considered Menno's real repentance. At any rate it was now only a matter of taking the decisive step. Menno now began, more than ever, "in the name of the Lord to teach openly from the pulpit the message of true repentance and to direct the people to the narrow way . . . and to witness publicly concerning the true worship, baptism and Lord's Supper according to the mind and teaching of Christ," in so far as he "had received God's grace." All this is directly connected with the incident at the Old Cloister, where the group was compelled to surrender on April 7, 1535.

At the same time Menno diligently warned all concerning the errors of the Münsterites, not only on Sunday from the pulpit and in his pastoral work, but also by writing a pamphlet, called "A Very

Clear and Explicit Proof from the Holy Scriptures that Jesus Christ is the Real Promised David . . . Contrary to the Wicked Blasphemy of Jan van Leiden," who had had himself crowned King of Münster. The fact that a human being put himself in Christ's place, and that people acted as if they had received baptism unto the sword rather than unto the cross, compelled him to write. The Catholic Church, it is true, is the "Babylonian whore," but judgment would come to her only through the Lord of the Church, not through human agency. In this pamphlet Menno addressed "all the true Brethren and fellow believers who were scattered here and there." To the "Babylonian whore" he preached repentance, but Jan van Leiden was for him the Antichrist. His entire sympathy went out to the true brethren who patiently endured the "heavy cross of Christ."

After the fall of the Old Cloister in April, 1535, Menno remained about nine months longer in the Catholic Church preaching and working as described above. "After about nine months," reports Menno, "the great merciful God granted me His fatherly Spirit, His help, strength and Hand to leave suddenly, without compulsion, my good calling, my honor, my name, which I enjoyed among human beings, all my unchristian errors. . . . Then I submitted willingly in misery and poverty to the 'heavy cross of my Lord', . . . sought pious persons and found several, if only a few, in sincere zeal and true doctrine. With the erring I talked and with God's help and strength freed several from the bonds of their condemnation and won them for Christ, but the stiff-necked and stubborn I commended to God."

"See, my reader, thus has God through the kindness of His great grace . . . first touched my heart, given me a new spirit . . . , turned me from the way of death and called me to the way of life, in company with His saints. To Him be praise in eternity. Amen."

3. *The Significance of Menno's Withdrawal from the Catholic Church for the Anabaptist-Mennonite Movement*

When we remember that Menno had arrived at a firm conviction on the question of the Lord's Supper as early as 1526, and had settled on the question of baptism in 1531, both by decisions which were diametrically opposed to Catholic doctrine, and that he yet did not leave the Church until 1536, it does seem surprising that it took him so long to take the final step. We cannot exonerate him entirely from his charge against himself. He acted against his conviction in not giving up his carefree life and in fearing the terrible persecution "under the cross of Christ." Yet, when we understand

the lot of the Brethren, or think of what an evangelical preacher must endure in Russia today, we can scarcely doubt that this fear of persecution was a factor in delaying Menno's final decision. Furthermore, being the son of slow-thinking Friesian peasant stock, he needed a long time to be fully convinced of any new truth. But after this was accomplished, he went his way without compromise and without wavering to the end. This is shown by the fact that he left the Church and joined the Brethren after they had acquired the disgraceful reputation of the Münsterite Anabaptists. Furthermore he left the Church not under compulsion but voluntarily, as he himself reports; he united willingly with the despised Brethren and organized them into congregations according to the apostolic example. If on the one hand Menno was not free of indecision and fear during this time, (1526-35), he was on the other hand very determined to follow the path once taken, to the end.

When Menno left the Church he probably went to East Friesland. On the way he sought out God-fearing Brethren, whom he gathered together, strengthened and comforted. Even of those who had been misled by the Münsterites he succeeded in winning some back. But he soon withdrew into seclusion and occupied himself with the study of the Scriptures and with writing edifying pamphlets. While he was thus busy in the winter of 1536-37, six or eight men came to him in the name of the "God-fearing, who walked in the same spirit as he and they, with the petition that he should take pity on the great tribulation and need of the poor, oppressed souls, for the hunger was so great and the faithful shepherds so few." This was a request to accept the office of bishop among the scattered Brethren. After a considerable period of earnest reflection, and after Menno and the delegates had prayed for God's direction, Menno committed himself "to the Lord with soul and body," and "began to teach the Holy Word and to baptize, to labor in the Lord's field with his small gift, to help to build His holy temple and to replace the fallen stones." Menno describes how God through his own mediocre talent and through his fellow workers "in many cities and countries" glorified His Church and endued it with "unconquerable power." Menno was ordained by the moderate wing of the Brethren by Obbe Philips in Groningen, probably late in 1536.

Even after the collapse of the kingdom of Münster in 1535, other similar elements persisted among the so-called Anabaptists. This was demonstrated soon after 1535 at a meeting of some Anabaptists at Bocholt in Westphalia. The meeting presented a variegated picture, with the moderate wing far from a majority. The followers of Jan van Batenburg used every means of revenge in re-

taliation for the persecution and the fall of Münster. David Joris, who later played a very unsavory role, attempted to bring about an utterly impossible compromise between the radicals and the followers of Obbe and Dirk Philips. In 1540 Obbe Philips also withdrew, depriving the moderate wing of their first and most important leader. That the Dutch and North German Anabaptist movement did not entirely collapse and that it rallied around a sane Biblical foundation, is due largely to the fact that Menno left the Catholic Church, gave himself to the service of the true Brethren in this great crisis of Northern Anabaptism, and became their leader, speaker, and defender. The chief and decisive influence of Menno lies not so much in his preaching journeys (as was later the case with the rhetorically gifted and zealous Leenaart Bouwens), as in the effect of his simple but searching writings. After several single writings of Menno had appeared, a collection was made in 1539-40, which is known today as "The Foundation Book." Even in these works Menno's significance lies not so much in the depth and genius of his thinking, as in the fact that his books appeared in the decisive moment with just the right message. They were effective not because they were uttered by a superior theological thinker, but because behind them stood an upright man "formed according to the Scripture" who sincerely and honestly wanted to work with all his life and talent for the Christian Church to the glory of God. It was for this reason that he gained influence and became the spokesman of wide circles of Anabaptists. The Foundation Book was intended as a book of edification and practical suggestions for the building up of the Church. In this respect it fulfilled its purpose splendidly. The importance which the Inquisition attached to this book is seen in the fact that many who were found with a copy in their possession paid for it with their lives.

The blood of the poor, wandering, and misled sheep burned his heart and occasioned his renunciation of the Catholic Church, so Menno had testified. By this step he became bishop of the sheep who needed a shepherd. The fact that he did this in a decisive hour, that he gathered the scattered believers, and that he served the church with all the love and devotion of which he was capable, makes this step of Menno one of the greatest and most important events in Anabaptist-Mennonite history. Very properly therefore do we, as the descendants of those early churches, remember this event, which is approaching its 400th anniversary. It is an anniversary which should also lead us to reflect on our own state of heart. Are we filled with the same spirit of sacrifice and devotion to the cause of the Church as Menno Simons manifested in his renunciation of the papacy and his assumption of the "heavy cross of his Lord"?

MENNO SIMONS' ATTITUDE TOWARD THE ANABAPTISTS OF MUENSTER

John Horsch

Some of the earlier opponents of Menno Simons have asserted, on the basis of a statement which he made in the first edition of his *Foundation* (1539) that, in the earlier years of his reformatory labors, Menno held the Anabaptists of Münster as his "dear brethren" who "erred only a little." This view was defended even by Menno Simons' most recent Dutch biographer, Karl Vos, who was of the opinion that while Menno considered the Münsterites his dear brethren at the time when he wrote the *Foundation,* in his later writings he untruthfully denied having ever held such an attitude toward them.

This opinion is based on the supposition that the earliest expression found in Menno Simons' writings that indicates his attitude toward the Münsterites is the passage in his *Foundation* just alluded to (which, as we shall see, does not refer to the Münsterites), and furthermore on the assumption that in his *Foundation* and his writings published before this book no indication is found that he rejected and opposed their teaching. But in his *Plain and Clear Proof* against John of Leiden, written a few years before the *Foundation,* Menno Simons denounced John of Leiden as a blasphemer and antichrist. And also in the first edition of his *Foundation* he refers repeatedly to the founders of the Münsterite sect as false prophets. He speaks of "the false prophet in Münster"[1] who took the sword for the Christian cause—obviously Jan Matthys. Moreover Menno, in the *Plain and Clear Proof,* speaks of Münsterite teaching as heresy and an abomination.

Again, we have a lucid statement of Menno Simons' attitude toward the principal points of Münsterite teaching in the first edition of his *Meditation on the Twenty-fifth Psalm.* This booklet antedates the *Foundation* but was written after the *Plain and Clear Proof.* It is one of Menno's first books and must have been written soon after his conversion, for he states in it that he served the adversary of the Lord "until now." In Menno Simons' Complete Works the *Meditation* is not found in its original form; it was revised by himself at a later date and the words "until now" in the

1 *Dat Fundament des Christelycken leers, Anno* 1539, L. 8r.

sentence in question were eliminated. The oldest edition extant, namely that of 1539, alone has these words. This is supposed to be the first edition, but clearly the book was written before 1539. Since obviously Menno was a minister of the Gospel at the time when he wrote it, the date was probably toward the end of 1536 or early in the following year.

In the first edition of the *Meditation,* Menno says concerning the Münsterites: "Through the false, misguided teachers, Satan has perverted the spiritual sense of the Scriptures into carnality. He has instituted the sword and weapons of destruction and thereby has engendered a revengeful spirit against all the world. He has moreover, without any Scripture foundation, cloaked and palliated shameful adultery with the example of the Jewish patriarchs, also a visible kingdom and king and other ungodly errors at which a true Christian is stricken with terror."[2] A more outspoken rejection of Münsterite principles cannot be found in Menno's later writings. He also states in the same booklet that the errors of "the corrupt sects" were more grievous than those of Romanism. He says: "These are those who continuously cry out, 'grace', 'spirit', 'Christ'; but every day they trample grace under their feet, grieve the Holy Spirit, and with their carnal life lamentably crucify the Son of God anew. Some of those who had once fled out of Sodom, Egypt, and Babylon and taken upon them the yoke and cross of Christ, have nevertheless fallen prey to the devil; they have been miserably deceived by the false prophets, just as if they had never confessed Thy Holy Word; yea, seven evil spirits have taken possession of them (Luke 11:24), and the last deception has become a thousand times worse than the first."[3] In his later revision of the book Menno Simons eliminated the words "a thousand times" in the last sentence.

A similar statement is found in his *Foundation* of 1539. Here he addresses the corrupt sects: "You have been so miserably led astray by the false prophets from the true path of Jesus Christ that the last error has become much worse than the first, for with you it has come to this that you defend as right and good the abominable works of the flesh."[4] In other places also in his *Foundation* of 1539, Menno Simons clearly defines his attitude toward the Münsterites, showing that he considered them by no means as brethren. He says: "I know that they accuse us of [Münsterite] errors concerning king, matrimony, the sword, outward kingdom, murder, robbery and

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[2] *Voele goede und Chrystelycke leringhen op den* 25. Psalm, 1539, D. 2r.

[3] *Ibid.,* A. 6r.

[4] *Dat Fundament,* R. 7v.

similar errors, which accursed ungodly teaching and Satanic errors, they all say, follow from baptism, and consequently they earnestly oppose the true doctrine of Jesus Christ, the consecrated life and apostolic baptism. No, dear rulers, no. . . ."[5] The first paragraph of the chapter "To the Corrupt Sects", in the same book, also treats of the Münsterites as well as of the Davidians, and shows clearly Menno's position and attitude toward them. And in his book on baptism, in 1539, as well as in the booklet, *The Reason Why I do not Cease Writing,* published in the same year, Menno expressed himself to the same effect concerning the corrupt sects, clearly including the Münsterites.

Vos further alleges that between 1539 and 1552 no expression of Menno concerning his attitude to the Münsterites is to be found. The fact has escaped him that Menno in his *Loving Admonition* of 1541, condemns "the Jewish doctrines of the sword, kingdom, polygamy and other seductions of similar nature."[6] And in his first book addressed to John a' Lasco, in 1544, he clearly speaks of the Münsterites and denounces their teachings in no uncertain tones. He says: "I have written this in order that our faith, doctrine and life, may be clearly set forth and made known, to destroy the evil suspicion which is held against us in consequence of the pernicious uproar and the shameful doctrine and practice of the false prophets who go forth under a pious semblance . . . as before God who knows our hearts, we are clear of all their abominable doctrine, uproar, mutiny, bloodshed, plurality of wives and the like abominations. Yea we hate and from all our heart oppose them as acknowledged heresies, as snares to the conscience and deceit, as deception of souls and pestilential doctrine," etc.[7]

The passage in the first edition of the *Foundation* in which Menno Simons was erroneously supposed to refer to the Münsterites as his dear brethren, follows:

> I do not doubt that our dear brethren who have formerly transgressed somewhat against the Lord in so far as they would protect their faith with weapons, have a gracious God. For they were, I hope, not polluted with the aforesaid [Münsterite] heresies, and sought nothing but Christ Jesus and eternal life. For this cause they forsook all their possessions, their own kindred, yea their own lives, although afterwards they erred a little, as said above (in which respect it behooves us not to follow them) namely, they used any weapons other than patient endurance and God's Word. And it is no wonder that they thus erred at that time, for in those

[5] *Dat Fundament,* P. 1r.
[6] *Opera,* 1681, 633b.
[7] *Ibid.,* 519.

> times they had not the proving of the spirits (I John 4:1). The upright and pious I call my sisters and brethren for the reason that they have erred unknowingly. But the double-hearted who did not seek God with a pure heart, although they bore the name of sisters and brethren, and the leaders of the seduction, such as those at Münster and Amsterdam, these (who are not now among the living) I leave in the hands of the Lord; He knows what judgment they have deserved and He will judge them according to His holy will.[8]

Clearly Menno Simons, in speaking of his erring brethren, has in mind those Anabaptists who, before his renunciation of Romanism, sought refuge in the so-called Old Cloister near Bolsward in Friesland and took the sword to defend themselves. Menno's own brother was one of these people. When Gellius Faber reproachfully mentioned this fact in his attempted refutation of Menno's doctrinal position, Menno made a reply throwing valuable light on the question of the principles of this party. He says: "My poor brother, with whom he so inimically upbraids me, has not erred further than that he (alas!) through lack of understanding undertook to defend his faith with the fist and to oppose violence with violence, as is the manner of all theologians, preachers, priests, monks, and the whole wide world."[9]

In another part of the same book Menno Simons tells us that the Oldcloisterites "through the ungodly doctrine of Münster" took the sword. It is clear, as will be pointed out, that these people, although they followed the Münsterites to the extent of taking the sword, can not be classed with the followers of the false prophets in Münster. There is no evidence whatever that they approved of the essentially Münsterite doctrine of the destruction of the wicked, of polygamy and of the literal, earthly kingdom of God. The Oldcloisterites did not accept these offensive teachings. As concerns polygamy it is improbable that they even knew that this unheard-of practice was defended by the Münsterites. Menno Simons, about the time of the affair at the Old Cloister, or shortly after it, wrote a book against the Münsterites, namely, the *Plain and Clear Proof* which was mentioned above. In this book the subject of polygamy is never named or alluded to; in all probability Menno was not acquainted with the Münsterite position on this point when he wrote this book, and there is every reason to suppose that the Oldcloisterites had no better knowledge of Münsterite doctrine than Menno Simons. Indeed polygamy is to all appearance mentioned

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[8] *Dat Fundament*, R. 7.

[9] *Opera*, 320b.

and defended in only one of the Münsterite books, namely *The Restitution.*

It will be recalled that polygamy was introduced in Münster by John of Leiden and was maintained by him against the party headed by Mollenhecke with terrible bloodshed. After John's purpose had been accomplished, the teaching of polygamy was no longer set forth in the Münsterite writings. There is no evidence that either Menno or the Oldcloisterites had become acquainted with *The Restitution,* and there is on the other hand unanswerable proof that the Oldcloisterites were neither polygamists, nor defenders of the doctrine of the destruction of the wicked. Obviously they took possession of the cloister, not in order to destroy their enemies, much less to slay eventually all the wicked, but to defend themselves against their persecutors. They did the monks in the cloister no harm, but destroyed the images and altars.

It was, however, no doubt the example of Münster in taking the sword which made a deep impression on those who were being persecuted unto death, and which led them to take the sword likewise in self-defense. It must be remembered that the death sentence had been passed upon all Anabaptists. The poor people were hounded to death like wild beasts. Only in exceptional cases would recantation save their lives. Many had been killed for their faith. Those Anabaptists who had not been taught the principle of nonresistance were under temptation to take the sword in self-defense. The Münsterites boasted of their success in defying all the world with the sword. They held that the Lord fought the battles of those who took the sword when they were innocently persecuted. If Münster could defend itself against the powers that be, could not the experiment be repeated in other places? Did not all the world, as Menno correctly observes, assert the right of self-defense? Menno says further: "Afterwards the poor straying sheep which erred because they had no true shepherds, after many cruel edicts, after much persecution and slaughter, came together near my place of residence, in a place called the Old Cloister and (alas) through the ungodly doctrine of Münster, against Christ's Spirit, Word and example, drew the sword to defend themselves which Peter was commanded by the Lord to put up in the sheath."[10]

The above passage on the Oldcloisterites in the first edition of the *Foundation* is contained in the chapter "To the Corrupt Sects." This designation is given by Menno to the enthusiastic and revolutionary sects of the Münsterites, Batenburgers and Davidians. When

[10] *Opera,* 1681, 257.

he published the first edition of his *Foundation,* there were besides these sects, only two Christian denominations found in the Netherlands, namely the Roman Catholic State Church and the Brethren represented by himself. There existed also secret bands of Melchiorites (Hofmannites) but they had not actually renounced the State Church. Hence all unorthodox Anabaptists were found in the ranks of the "corrupt sects." The Oldcloisterites Menno did not class under this category, for they had ceased to exist previous to his conversion. He speaks of them in this chapter to show the fallacy of the accusation of the Davidians that he denounced as corrupt sects all that were according to his understanding not entirely orthodox.

Evidently the Oldcloisterites had formerly been followers of Melchior Hofmann (called Melchiorites or Covenanters). However while Hofmann did not practice baptism after 1530 but waited for the expected time of liberty and the cessation of the persecution, these people had been baptized; they had become Anabaptists and were therefore in immediate danger of death. Menno held at that time the office of a priest in Witmarsum, but had been to some extent under Melchiorite influence. He admired these people for their willingness to follow the light which had come to them and to step out of the State Church under such adverse conditions. "I saw with mine eyes," he says, "that these zealous people willingly gave their life and possessions for their principles and faith, though they were in error;" they were "a well-meaning, straying flock that would so gladly do the right, if they but knew the right."[11]

Melchior Hofmann did not teach the principle of nonresistance and Menno Simons points out repeatedly that the Oldcloisterites had never been taught the truth on this point; they sinned not against better light, but erred unknowingly. Since they followed the truth as far as they had received light so "that they would so gladly do the right if they only knew what the right is," and consequently in the face of untold persecution confessed the truth as far as they had received it, giving unmistakable evidence of the courage of their conviction—for these reasons Menno Simons speaks of them as brethren. However, in order not to be misunderstood he adds, that if he could not believe that they were free from Münsterite errors concerning the worldly kingdom of God, their attitude toward "the wicked," polygamy, etc., he would take a different attitude toward them. He condemned the use of the sword as contrary to Christ's Spirit, Word and example, and believed the drawing of the

[11] *Opera,* 1681, 267.

sword to be a weighty error in itself, but since these people in self-defense had erred ignorantly, he made the somewhat ill-advised statement that they "transgressed somewhat." In the revision of the *Foundation* the whole passage was eliminated.

Menno held that the error of the Oldcloisterites should under these circumstances not be too severely charged against them. It is worthy of notice that he took a similar position in regard to certain Zwinglians who gave their lives for the sake of their faith and followed the truth as far as they had received it. He says of them: "But that some of them in the beginning for the sake of the testimony which they had obtained, have shed their blood, for this we praise God and believe with James that they are happy (saved) and that they are our companions in the tribulation of Christ (Jas. 5:11; Rev. 1:9); for their deeds have testified that they sought God and were faithful as far as they had obtained light."[12]

It has been supposed that the Oldcloisterites were minded to go to Münster and that this would indicate that they were Münsterites in principle. But had this been their intention, it would be difficult to conceive of a motive why they should go to the Old Cloister and there await attack and siege by the troops. On the contrary they were of the opinion that the Old Cloister had been given them as a place of refuge against their persecutors, a place where they hoped to worship God according to the dictates of their conscience. They believed, since right was on their side, the Lord would give their undertaking success, but overlooked the fact that they transgressed by taking the sword. They referred to the Old Cloister as their Zion, for here they established a congregation of their scattered flock. They wrote letters urging others, "if they loved God and the holy Gospel they should without delay come to them to the Cloister for this was the sure place of protection which God had given His people for a sure refuge." That the Jan van Geelen who organized the uprising in Amsterdam on May 11, 1535, was the leader of the Oldcloisterites is clearly a later invention of their enemies.

K. Vos further asserts that Menno's brother who lost his life at the Old Cloister had been in Münster and was a prominent adherent of John of Leiden, being identical with Peter Symonson, one of the twelve elders in Münster, and later the steward of the kitchen of King John who was sent forth, in December, 1534, with five others, among them John van Geelen, to spread the book *On Vengeance* and to promote the Münsterite cause in general. Obviously the fact has escaped this author that Peter Symonson returned to Münster

12 *Opera*, 1681, 245.

within a few weeks, namely toward the end of December, 1534. It is a pure assumption without any evidence whatever that he was Menno Simons' brother. Were it a fact, Menno's opponents would have been informed of it and would have made some mention of it in their books against Menno. And Menno could not have said of his brother that he erred only on one point.

Those whom Menno Simons in the above-mentioned passage in the *Foundation* calls his "dear brethren who erred only a little," can not have been the Münsterites, for as shown above, Menno in the same book denounced the Münsterite doctrines as "accursed, ungodly teaching and Satanic errors." Moreover he informs us in the preface that his very purpose in writing this book was to point out the radical differences between his own people and the Münsterites. He says:

> Since we find that Satan can convert himself into an angel of light and sow the evil tares among the wheat of the Lord, namely the [Münsterite] doctrines of the sword, matrimony, outward kingdom of Christ, idolatry, deception [pretension to be of the State Church when such was not the case] and similar errors, on account of which doctrines the children of God are slandered and must suffer much therefore we have decided to give herewith an account of our faith.[13]

Another evidence of Menno's supposed friendly attitude toward the Anabaptists of Münster is stated by K. Vos as follows: "His wife's sister, Margaret Edes, was troubled in mind because she had been baptized by the Münsterite minister, Douwe Schoemaker, and desired to be rebaptized, but Menno as well as Leonard Bouwens refused her desire."

The only source for this item is Hans Alenson's *"Tegen-Bericht,"* written in 1630. While K. Vos and others assert that Margaret Edes entertained doubts concerning the validity of her baptism because it had been performed by a Münsterite minister, Alenson does not mention this as the cause of her desire to be rebaptized, but says she believed she had received baptism without faith and repentance. From a letter written by Menno Simons to this person[14], it is evident that her conscience was oversensitive and that she found it difficult to come to an assurance of saving faith.

Alenson refers to Douwe Schoemaker, the minister who baptized Margaret Edes, as a Münsterite. There is absolutely nothing known about this man, except what is contained in Alenson, who wrote about seventy years after Menno Simons' death, and probably

[13] *Dat Fundament*, A. 4v.
[14] *Opera*, 434.

more than ninety years after the baptism in question had taken place. We do not know whence Alenson had his information concerning Douwe Schoemaker, but we do know that he is not always reliable in his statements concerning Menno Simons. There is no proof for the correctness of his assertion that Douwe Schoemaker was a Münsterite. Margaret Edes was one of the circle in Witmarsum which was influenced by the Oldcloisterites. She may have been baptized by one of their ministers.

There is good evidence to show that even before his renunciation of the State Church Menno Simons was a radical opponent of the Münsterites and their teaching. Clear testimony to that effect is contained in the account of his conversion and his *Plain and Clear Proof* against John of Leiden which he wrote before he forsook the national Church. In his later writings we have the repeated testimony that even previous to his conversion and from the very rise of the Münsterites he was an opponent of their principles. He says:

> Since we against all truth are so severely attacked and accused by our opponents, we will say in defense of us all that we consider as a new Judaism the Münsterite doctrine, cause and life, namely concerning king, sword, uproar, striking back, vengeance, plurality of wives, and the outward kingdom of Christ upon earth, deceptive errors and abominations, radically at variance with the Spirit, word and example of Christ. Behold, in Christ we lie not. No one under the broad canopy of heaven can show or prove that I at any time of my life agreed with the Münsterites in the before-mentioned articles; for I have from the beginning until the present time opposed and refuted them with all diligence and earnestness, both privately and publicly, verbally and in writing, yea for over seventeen years and ever since I have in my weakness and according to my ability confessed the Word of the Lord and His holy name, have I taken this attitude regarding them.[15]

Again Menno says that the places in which he had held office in the service of Romanism, namely, "Witmarsum and Pingjum, must acknowledge this and by my witnesses that also before my resignation I have earnestly opposed and denounced the Münsterite teaching."[16]

Concerning his relation and attitude to the Münsterites Menno Simons says further:

> We are clear and free of the abominable doctrine, the uproar, mutiny, blood-thirstiness, polygamy and the like abomination of the false prophets. Yea we hate and oppose such teaching with all

15 *Opera*, 1681, 497.
16 *Ibid.*, 497a, marginal note.

earnestness, as evident heresy, as snares to the conscience, as deception, seduction and fraud and as pestilential doctrines accursed and rejected by all Scriptures.[17]

Behold, kind reader, this is my position and confession concerning the Münsterites, and the position of all who are acknowledged and accepted as brethren and sisters among us.

In short, we confess and testify herewith before God, before you and before the whole wide world that we from our inmost hearts detest the aforesaid errors and abominations of the Münsterites of all the world and of evil sects, which are contrary to the Spirit, word, ordinance and commandment of the Lord; and that before God in Christ Jesus we seek and desire nothing more, than that we may point to and bring the whole world (which lieth in wickedness) upon the right way, and that we may through the word of the Lord, by His assistance and grace save and win many souls from the kingdom of the devil and lead them to Christ; and that we may lead a pious, humble and godly life in Christ Jesus and praise and glorify His great, adorable, exalted name forever.[18]

In the first place, our persecutors accuse us and say that we are seditious like the Münsterites and that we are not obedient to the magistracy. To this we reply in the first place: That the Münsterites were seditious and in many things acted contrary to God's Word, we confess; but that we should be one with them, we deny. For the seditious abominations such as their teaching concerning king, kingdom, sword, etc., also plurality of wives and dissembling with the world (observing the unscriptural religious forms prescribed by the powers that be) and other similar infamy and abomination; we detest and oppose with all our heart.[19]

It is before God and men unchristian, yea it is manifestly tyrannical and unjust to put us in the same category and impose the same penalty upon us . . . as on the Münsterites, who contrary to God's Word and to all evangelical Scripture, also contrary to the existing authorities, established a new kingdom, taught uproar, polygamy, etc., which we so heartily detest and with the word of the Lord denounce, reprove and oppose, as is clearly evident from our whole life and teachings—it is unjust, I say to put us in the same category with these people alone for the sake of baptism which we have established with the Word of God and the teaching and usage of the apostles against all human philosophy and inventions.[20]

Take heed, ye illustrious, noble and well-meaning lords! Take heed, ye judges and keepers of the law in the countries against whom your cruel, bloody sword is sharpened, drawn, and used. For I tell you in Christ Jesus, that we seek nothing than what we have pointed out above, even as yourselves may with great clearness see in many instances. For many have been put to

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17 *Opera*, 1681, 519.
18 *Ibid.*, 498.
19 *Ibid.*, 146.
20 *Ibid.*, 20.

the sword, or killed by fire and water, and have suffered death, rather than that a false sound or deceitful word should pass out of their mouth (since false testimony could have saved their lives). And if perchance you should point me to the terrible, abominable record of the false corrupted sects, and say that you must oppose baptism with the sword that thus their wicked undertakings may be prevented and hindered, my answer is, first, that Christian baptism is not of the corrupt sects, but it is God's Word; secondly that holy Christian baptism does not cause mutiny or shameful deeds, but the false teachers and the false prophets who boast themselves to be baptized Christians and yet, before God, are not such, are responsible for these things.

Thirdly there is nothing under heaven which I abhor more than the wicked cause of the false, corrupt sects. I do not regard death with such terror, for I know that it is appointed to all men once to die; nor the tyrannical sword, for if they take my body, it is all they can do; nor Satan for he has been overcome for me by Christ. But if I adhered to the abominable doctrine of the corrupt sects, my cause would verily be lost, for eternal woe would be to my poor soul. Therefore it would be far preferable to me to die the temporal death (this He knows who knows all things) than to eat, drink, fellowship with, greet or converse with such, if I knew that they would not be helped by my conversation or admonition; for to keep the company of such is abundantly forbidden in God's Word.—Therefore I say: If you find in me or my teaching which is the Word of God, or among those who are taught by me and my brethren, any thieving, murdering, perjury, mutiny, uproar or any other criminal acts, such as were formerly and are yet found among the corrupt sects, then we would desire that you punish us; for we fully deserved the severest punishment in such case.[21]

Inasmuch as I daily see before my eyes the terrible perils which existed even from the beginning, that so many an innocent soul has been misled and is now misled through the false prophecies, smooth words, seeming sanctity, lying signs, threatening and false promises of Antichrist and the false prophets who ever sought their own honor, fame and gain under a semblance of God's Word, as was the case with the pope of Rome and Jan of Leiden at Münster and others, and may yet abundantly be witnessed, therefore I deem it very necessary and profitable to earnestly warn and admonish with a sincere heart all my beloved readers in the Lord, that they should not accept my doctrine as the Gospel of Jesus Christ so long as they have not thoroughly proved it with the Spirit and word of the Lord, that they may not set their hearts upon me nor upon any other teacher or writer, but solely upon Jesus Christ.[22]

As stated above, the Münsterites and those who after the fall of Münster perpetuated Münsterite teachings, namely the Baten-

21 *Opera*, 1681, 431b.
22 *Ibid.*, 449a.

burgers and Davidians, were spoken of by Menno Simons as "the corrupt sects." In the revision of the *Foundation,* made probably in 1554, he writes under the caption, "To the Corrupt sects":

> It is a grievous error that ye suffer yourselves to be so wretchedly bewitched by such worthless men, and so lamentably misled from one unclean sect into another; first Münsterite, then of Batenburg, now Davidians, and thus from Beelzebub to Lucifer and from Belial to Behemoth, ever learning and never able to come to the knowledge of the truth (II Tim. 3:7), suffering yourselves to be led about by every wind of false doctrine.[23]

While his opponents asserted that he was of the same party and represented the same movement as the Münsterites, Menno Simons points out that among the churches and parties that were known by the name of Anabaptists, greater differences and contrasts were in evidence than among the denominations in which infant baptism was practiced. Says Menno:

> As the Romanists differ from the Lutherans, much more radically do we differ from the Münsterites and from some other sects which sprang from them. That this is the truth, we have well established for these many years by our writings, life, and oral testimony before lords and princes and before the whole world, also by the blood of many pious Christians, which in many lands was shed like water. [24]

Menno Simons shows the unreasonableness of the opinion that all who practiced adult baptism were for that reason of one and the same party. He says:

> We acknowledge, beloved sirs, that some of the false prophets were, to outward appearance, baptized with the same manner of baptism as we, just as on the other hand also thieves, murderers, highway robbers, sorcerers and the like were baptized with you. Shall the good angels be unjustly judged for the sake of Lucifer's pride, and be meted out the same punishment? Or are all the apostles traitors because of Judas? Were the apostles responsible for the fact that the Nicolaitans had their wives in common, as Eusebius relates? Or that the Ebionites denied the divinity of Christ and taught that Christ began to exist only in Mary? etc.[25]
>
> If they upbraid us and say that we must be accounted one church and body with the Münsterites, for the reason that we were baptized outwardly in the same manner, we reply: If outward baptism is of such a nature as to make all those who are outwardly baptized in the same manner of one Church and body, and to cause one to be included in the unrighteousness, wickedness and perversity of the other, simply because both have been baptized in

[23] *Opera,* 1681, 64b.
[24] *Ibid.,* 148b.
[25] *Ibid.,* 55.

> the same way, then our adversaries and opponents may well consider what kind of a church or body theirs is. For it is clear and well known to every man that even perjurers, murderers, highwaymen, thieves, sorcerers and such like have received the same baptism as they [and under the state Church system, were not excluded from the Church]. If we, then, are Münsterites for no other reason than because of baptism, then they must be perjurers, murderers, highwaymen, thieves and rogues, for these have received one baptism with them.[26]

In a few of his books Menno Simons states in the preface that his purpose is to show that the accusation against the Mennonites of entertaining tumultuous and revolutionary aims on the ground that the Münsterites were revolutionists was unjust. He points out that not only were the Mennonites not responsible for the deeds of "the corrupt sects," but that certain princes also in the churches, whose theologians made such accusations, had made great political, warlike disturbances. Menno's opponents were well informed concerning revolutions made by "Anabaptists" but memory apparently failed them touching similar failings on the part of those who were of their own party. At Basel the Zwinglians forced the Reformation upon the city through a revolution (1529). Zwingli himself lost his life in an unholy war with the Catholic cantons which were to be compelled to tolerate Zwinglianism, although Catholicism was not tolerated on Zwinglian territory. The leading Lutheran princes, John Frederick of Saxony and Philip of Hesse, in 1542 invaded the Catholic province of Brunswick, conquered the land, drove out Duke Henry, the rightful ruler, and forced the Lutheran reformation upon the people. One of the most worthless characters that was ever called upon to bear the scepter of a ruler was the Markgrave Albert Alcibiades of Brandenburg-Kulmbach, a Lutheran. As a lawless adventurer he has left a record that has scarcely been surpassed. He believed that he was doing God service by killing the priests. Some of the adjoining provinces he covered with conflagration and murder. Finally he was compelled to flee to France. Facts like these will serve to make clear the following quotations from Menno Simons:

> Secondly, I would say, since again and again he [Gellius Faber] lays to our charge the errors and uproar of the Münsterites, of which we are and ever have been before God and men innocent and free, I would beseech him that he take a careful look at his own infant baptist Church of which he is head and teacher. How abominably have they for years risen up against each other. With their accursed, wicked wars they have afflicted whole countries.[27]

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26 *Opera*, 1681, 497b.

27 *Ibid.*, 320a.

> Why do they so indiscreetly accuse us of uproar while we are wholly innocent and clear of all uproar and they never pay attention to their own destructive, bloody murdering uproars. Again what bloody uproars the Lutherans have for some years made to introduce and establish their doctrine, I will leave to them to reflect upon. Nevertheless we, although innocent, must be accounted the tumultuous heretics and they the God-fearing, pious, peaceable Christians. Behold so lamentably is the understanding of this blind world darkened.[28]

A comparison of Mennonite with Münsterite principles reveals the most fundamental differences and contrasts. A radical difference existed on the point of the authoritative sources of Christian truth. The Münsterites held the new revelations which came to them through their prophets, to be of equal if not greater authority than the Scriptures, and besides, they taught that the Old Testament Scriptures surpass the New Testament in authority and importance. Rothmann wrote on the point in question:

> We presume that everyone now knows what is the principal indubitable Scripture, according to which all Scripture must be interpreted, namely Moses and the Prophets. These are the authoritative Scriptures. There are also other praiseworthy books which may be called Holy Scriptures . . . especially the Scriptures or books of the New Testament whose truth is founded on the principal Scriptures.

It is seen then that the New Israel of Münster held the Old Testament Scriptures to be the most important and authoritative part of the Bible. In this regard they differed fundamentally from the evangelical Anabaptists. Menno Simons taught that the Old Testament, although a part of God's Word, was, as concerns its rules of worship and practice, intended for pre-messianic times alone. All the Old Testament, says Menno, pointed forward to Christ the author of the New Covenant who brought the world the full light of truth. Certain points of Old Testament law were expressly abrogated in the Sermon on the Mount. Divorce, for example, was permitted in the Old Testament law, but forbidden by Christ. "All Scripture must be interpreted according to the spirit, teaching, walk and example of Christ and the apostles," says Menno.

The Münsterite conception of the relation of the Old Testament to the New differs more radically from Menno's conception than from that of the leading reformers. Luther, Zwingli and Calvin did not make the distinction between the Old and New Testament Scripture on which evangelical Anabaptists insisted, but held both

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[28] *Opera*, 1681, 148b.

to be authoritative as the rule of life and practice for the Christian Church. The Lutheran theologian, Paul Tschackert, in his work, *The Origin of Lutheran and Reformed Doctrine,* says that Luther "had no historical understanding of the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament," and that the time of the Reformation was not ripe for this understanding. This opinion leaves evangelical Anabaptists out of consideration. They held, on the ground of such passages as Heb., Chap. 7-10, and Matt. 5:31-48 that the Old Covenant was imperfect in its law, priesthood, and worship.

Paul Tschackert says correctly that Luther's approval of the bigamy of Philip of Hesse had its basis in his wrong conception of the relation of the Old Testament to the New. Plurality of wives, the darkest and one of the most characteristic points of Münsteritism, was more radically and consistently opposed by the Mennonites than by the Protestant state churches. Among the Swiss Brethren, Hutterites and Mennonites transgressors against the seventh commandment were more severely dealt with than in the State Churches. Menno Simons could not have subscribed to Luther's opinion concerning the invalidity of secret betrothal; at least, he held that transgression must be followed by marriage. He says: "He that has transgressed and not taken another should bring the one whom he has disgraced again to honor, and according to Christian love and the Word of God extricate her from her degraded state." "If you are a Christian or would be one and would have seduced a poor child with your subtle temptations and promises, and if you would not lose your soul, you must marry the disgraced one. Behold this is the Lord's own word and law."[29]

> Not with the least semblance of right can it be said that the toleration of, or the demand for polygamy was ever included in the tendencies of Anabaptism as such, or that it corresponded to the religious or other views of the Anabaptists in general. The idea of polygamy, the first attempt to introduce it in Münster, the manner of proclaiming and realizing it, all this was solely a fruit of the brain of John of Leiden. So writes Heinrich Detmer, the historian whose specialty was the study of the Anabaptists of Münster.

The state churchism of the Münsterites led to similar intolerance and persecution as was in vogue in the Lutheran and Zwinglian state churches. Liberty of conscience was openly repudiated in Münster. The Swiss Brethren and Mennonites excluded false teachers from the Church; the Münsterites persecuted them, threatening them with banishment or the death sentence. Capital punish-

[29] *Opera,* 1681, 105.

ment even for criminals was believed by Menno to be inconsistent with Christian principles. The Münsterites to the contrary desired to kill all "the wicked." The Mennonites held that "the powers that be are ordained of God;" the Münsterites held that the governments which opposed them were not of God but of the evil one.

Menno Simons repudiated the thought that either the members of the Church or the Church as such is perfect. He did not believe that membership in the Church assures salvation. Often he pointed out that there was a Judas among the apostles of the Lord. The Münsterites on the contrary taught that "all Israel will be saved." They held that their Zion was in the absolute sense "without spot or wrinkle" and at the same time they countenanced the most glaring transgression and worldliness. Theoretically communism existed in Münster, but the idea of the Church as a brotherhood was trampled under feet by John of Leiden. Famine reigned in the city, but John of Leiden, like the rich man in the parable, "clothed himself in purple and fine linen and fared sumptuously every day." The Münsterites were Sabbatarians, keeping Saturday as the day of the Lord. And why not, if the Old Testament is the rule for Christian doctrine and practice?

It has been commonly supposed that all who were baptized in Münster or those who fled to the city from other places were one in doctrine with John of Leiden. The fact has been practically ignored that more than fifty persons were executed in Münster for the reason that they refused to consent to polygamy, and it is well known that those who were put to death were only a minority of the number who were of one mind with them and never became guilty of bigamy or polygamy. And we do not know to what extent the troops of men and women who attempted to go to Münster and aid the Münsterite cause were acquainted with the principles advocated in the city. Nevertheless they have been generally spoken of as Münsterites, and a Münsterite is supposed to be one who approves of polygamy. To what extremes this idea has been carried is well illustrated by the following example. Gillis of Aachen, later a prominent Mennonite elder, was (erroneously) believed to have been among a band which on February 28, 1534, was arrested near Düsseldorf for the reason that they intended to go to Münster. On this ground Gillis of Aachen has been represented by K. Vos as a believer in polygamy. But the Münsterites did not defend this offensive institution at that time. It was in June of the same year (1534) that John of Leiden for the first time advanced the teaching of polygamy.

The view that in the last analysis all Anabaptists represented the same cause or movement and must be virtually considered one party is in our day by no means as general as it once was, but strange to say, is held by some of the latest writers on the subject. The author of the article "Anabaptisten" in the great Herzog-Hauck Theological Encyclopedia says that the Münsterite tragedy represented the summit of the Anabaptist movement and was the fruit of Anabaptist principles. A. W. Hunzinger thinks the Münsterite development was by no means an extreme growth but a symptomatic manifestation of Anabaptism. In the article on the Anabaptists of Münster in the above mentioned encyclopedia it is said that "considering the final principles a Münsterite kingdom could not possibly develop from Lutheranism or Zwinglianism," it represented "a legitimate growth on the tree of Anabaptism."

The Münsterites themselves were of different opinion. They did not consider themselves the spiritual children of the early Anabaptists. In their opinion the latter were fundamentally wrong. In their writings the Münsterites name the State Church reformers as the beginning of the true reformation of the Church, but never mention the early Anabaptists. Luther and Zwingli, they say, have begun the work which Melchior Hofmann, Jan Matthys and John of Leiden completed. If a Münsterite kingdom could not develop from Lutheranism or Zwinglianism, neither could it grow out of Swiss "Anabaptism." Unless Bullinger's view be accepted that the principle of nonresistance, to which the early Anabaptists gave a very prominent place, was mere hypocrisy, invented to hide revolutionary aims (a view which can not for a moment be entertained by an impartial student) a Münsterite kingdom could not possibly develop from Swiss Anabaptism.

The principle that the Scriptures are the only authority in matters of faith was accepted by the first Anabaptists far more unreservedly and radically than by the Lutherans and Zwinglians, and this principle also made Münsteritism impossible. On the points of the union of the Church and state, absence of church discipline, and persecution of false teachers the Münsterites followed not the early Anabaptists but the new state churches. Hofmann was at first a disciple of Luther; the idea that he was ever connected with the Swiss or South German Anabaptists is a mere assumption. Rothmann, the theologian of the Münsterites, also was originally a Lutheran. And both Luther and Zwingli had originally been Roman Catholics. To lay the offenses of the Münsterites to the charge of the Mennonites, on the ground that both practiced adult baptism, is, as Menno Si-

mons points out, as unreasonable as to accuse the Lutherans of the crimes of which some of the popes became guilty, on the ground that both were infant baptists.

In later periods a number of enthusiastic and immoral sects, much like the Münsterites, issued from the Lutheran and Zwinglian state churches, e. g., the sect of Eva Buttlar, the Zionites in Ronsdorf, and others. It would be unjust to hold the Lutherans and Zwinglians responsible for the errors advanced by these who had once been within their ranks. Menno Simons forcibly points out that the sect of the Nicolaitans consisted of those who had once been members of the apostolic Church.

SOME RELIGIOUS PACIFISTS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

GUY F. HERSHBERGER

From the close of the Napoleonic wars to the time of the American Civil War there was a vigorous peace movement, both in America and in Europe. Out of this movement came some important contributions to pacifist thought. It is the purpose of the present article to analyze briefly the pacifist theory of five leaders of this period: Jonathan Dymond, Noah Worcester, William Ellery Channing, David Low Dodge, and Adin Ballou. The first of this group was an Englishman; the remaining four, Americans.

Jonathan Dymond was a Quaker whose *Essays on the Principles of Morality and on the Private and Political Rights and Obligations of Mankind* was published in 1829.[1] This work reflects an optimistic hope for the Christianization of the social order. Even though the American Quakers had withdrawn from active political life in 1756, and in spite of the quietistic tendency of later eighteenth century Quakerism, Dymond's view is quite in line with that of the early Friends. Peace is to be achieved by an application of Christian moral principles to political life. Dymond believed the time had arrived when great results in this direction were to be expected.

He says: "That there are indications of an advancement of the human species toward greater purity in principle and in practice cannot, I think, be disputed. There is a manifest advancement in intellectual concerns: Science of almost every kind is extending her empire;—political institutions are becoming rapidly ameliorated; and morality and religion, if their progress be less perceptible, are yet advancing with an onward pace."[2] "And assuredly there is a perceptible advance in the sentiments of good men towards a higher standard of morality. The lawfulness is frequently questioned now of actions of which, a *few* ages ago, *few* or none doubted the rectitude."[3]

Dymond's optimsim does not fail him even in the face of evident corruption in politics. "The contrivances of expediency have become so habitual to measures of state, that it may probably be

1 Six years earlier Dymond had published *An Inquiry into the Accordancy of war with the Principles of Christianity.*

2 Jonathan Dymond, *Principles of Morality,* p. 470.

3 *Ibid.,* p. 472.

thought the dreamings of a visionary to suppose it possible that they should be substituted by purity of rectitude. And yet I believe it will eventually be done . . . by the gradual advance of sound principles upon the minds of men—principles which will assume more and more their rightful influence in the world, until at length the low contrivances of a fluctuating and immoral policy will be substituted by firm, and consistent, and invariable integrity."[4]

This is a courageous statement since the idealism of even the Quakers had undergone considerable compromise during their political experience in colonial Pennsylvania. But Dymond's faith remained true to the earlier Quaker ideal. The time was coming when immorality in political life would be replaced by rectitude and integrity. There is no lawful distinction between private and public morality. The teachings of Jesus were meant for political life as much as for the individual. To the "supremacy of the moral law . . . there is no exception in the case of nations." "In political life we must exercise some of that confidence in the protection of God which we admire in individual life."[5] That is to say, the Christian who has come to the full light of the Gospel as expressed in the moral teachings of Jesus should take his place in political life and apply those principles there.

Dymond admits, however, that political life offers great temptations for compromise. He justifies the inclusion of a chapter on the morals of the legal profession in a book on general morality on the ground "that the practice of this particular profession peculiarly needs it."[6] Again he says, "He who would rectify the ordinary legal practice, is in the situation of a physician who can scarcely prescribe with effect for a particular symptom in a patient's case, unless he will submit to an entirely new regimen and mode of life." The "difficulties and temptations [are] so great that it may almost appear to be the part of a wise man to fly rather than to encounter them." But at this point he brings himself back and says, "There is however nothing *necessarily* incidental to the legal profession which makes it incompatible with morality. He who has the firmness to maintain his allegiance to virtue may doubtless maintain it."[7]

The same difficulty is recognized in regard to political life generally: "So fundamentally, so utterly incongruous with Christian rectitude, is the state of many branches of political affairs in the

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[4] Dymond, *Principles of Morality*, p. 323.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 323.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 170.
[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 183-84.

present day, that I know not whether he who is solicitous to adhere to this rectitude is not both wise and right in standing aloof." The individual who regards himself "a journeyer to a better country" and so chooses not to participate in politics may justifiably pursue this simpler life. Nevertheless it is the duty of men to live as Christian citizens, not merely to prepare for another world.[8]

The Christian is confronted with a difficult problem when his government fails to function with justice and equity. The Scriptures enjoin obedience to rulers. But they also teach that God must be obeyed rather than men. The nonresistant sects have generally interpreted this as a command to disobedience only when the authorities demand violation of direct commands of God. Where the government merely infringes on the rights and liberties of the people, however, disobedience is not justified. In such circumstances they consider it the duty of the Christian humbly to submit. This is the true nonresistant attitude.

The Quakers were not nonresistants, however, a fact well illustrated in Dymond's discussion on this point. He says when a government no longer serves the public welfare it is right for the people to transfer their obedience to other rulers. This is granting the right of revolution, and Dymond says, "I perceive nothing *unchristian* in this." But then he warns that this transfer of allegiance must be done "by all Christian means." There might indeed be so much violence and wickedness connected with a revolution that the Christian could not participate, "but this is an accidental connection, and in no degree affects the principle itself."

Then he recommends non-violent coercion as a Christian method of revolution. This proposal in its essentials is the program of Gandhi, which the nonresistant sects consider a violation of Jesus' teachings as much as participation in actual violence. He suggests that the revolting American colonies instead of resorting to violence might have simply refused to pay the tax. England might have sent fleets and soldiers, and the soldiers might have confiscated some goods. But still the colonies would have paid no tax except by actual distraint. He believes if they had in this manner acted on "Christian principles," England would eventually have been forced to give up, and independence secured.[9]

Another important leader of the nineteenth century peace movement was a New England minister, the Reverend Noah Worcester of Brighton, Massachusetts. As a boy he had taken part

[8] Dymond, *Principles of Morality*, pp. 330-31.

[9] *Ibid.*, pp. 332ff.

in the American Revolution, but when he grew older he became convinced that warfare was inconsistent with Christianity. During the War of 1812 he ventured to pray in public that the lives of soldiers on both sides might be spared. In 1814 he began to put his thoughts on paper and produced an epoch-making pamphlet entitled: *Solemn Review of the Custom of War.* And in 1815 he founded the Massachusetts Peace Society, about four months after David Low Dodge had organized a similar society in New York.

The *Solemn Review* regards war as a barbarous custom which must be abolished. The slave trade was abolished. Other social evils have been abolished. The same can be done with war. To wait for the millennium is unwise, for the millennium will never come except as it is brought about by the efforts of enlightened man. One section of the booklet describes the evil effects of war. Another refutes the arguments frequently made in its favor. He argues that in the family of primitive society there was no warfare and that there is no good reason for its having been introduced when society had supposedly reached a higher level. War is altogether contrary to the spirit of Jesus.

Worcester does not stop with a mere declaration that war is undesirable. He sets forth a definite program for its abolition. It is a program of education. The sources of power for this undertaking will reside in the organized peace societies. These will enlist the services of the clergy and the press. The pulpits throughout the land will proclaim the good news. The newspapers will do likewise. The propaganda for peace will become an integral part of our educational system from the grades to the universities. If this program is carried out effectively for one century, "the nations of Christendom may consider human sacrifices, made by war, in the same light they now view the ancient sacrifices to Moloch." The Bible societies will aid in this great task. And, of course, the Quakers will do their share. Lawyers and politicians too will join in and soon we will be rid of the scourge of war. The only difference between Quakers and other people is that the former have been educated in the ways of peace. Now if all the people are educated in the same way the entire nation will be like the Quakers.[10]

Noah Worcester followed the *Solemn Review* with an interesting little periodical called the *Friend of Peace.* The third issue of this paper contained "A Solemn Appeal to the Consciences of Professed Christians." This was a vivid picture of the distress which would come to America in case of another war, and a plea for Chris-

[10] This is a summary of the entire pamphlet, *Solemn Review of the Custom of War.*

tian people to strive for its prevention.[11] In the fourth number Worcester returned to his educational program and set forth "Reasons for believing that efforts for the abolition of war will not be in vain." He says, "It is impossible that men should make war under the influence of the principle of peace: and it is possible that these principles will be generally adopted."

When a majority of the population becomes pacifist the government must submit to their ideas, for they will control the elections, says Worcester. They will elect friends of peace regardless of party. "The great question then will not be, *Is he a republican?* nor *Is he a federalist?* But, *Is he opposed to war,* and a genuine peace character?" Then after the election, the officials will actually strive to avoid war lest they lose the esteem of their constituents. Even in 1812 the vote of one more peace senator would have prevented a declaration of war. Perhaps one more peace character in the British Cabinet would have removed the cause of irritation between the two governments. So when once the peace education program is launched, the results are assured. "Should the British nation become as eminent for peace as they have been for war—and should a peace society be formed in Great Britain, as powerful as the British and Foreign Bible Society, the seeds for the abolition of war will soon be sown in every nation under heaven. And let it be remembered, that this is the kind of seed that will be productive."

When ministers once face the issue squarely, says Worcester, they will easily decide between Christ and Mohamet, and all the people in their parishes will follow. In this way thousands of young people will grow up never knowing anything but an abhorrence of war. And so the peace sentiment will grow until the means for exciting the passions of war will gradually lose their influence. "The trumpet of military fame will sound weaker and weaker . . . and the usual inflammatory war speeches and writings, will be regarded as *immoral* and *pernicious.*" Several sects have already renounced war—the Quakers, Moravians, Dunkers, and Mennonites. Peace Societies and peace publications are getting under way. It will be only a matter of time until all the world will follow in their train.[12]

This is the pacifist doctrine of Noah Worcester. It is not a doctrine of nonresistance. The rightfulness of government and political activity for the Christian is nowhere questioned. On the question of defensive war he is generally non-committal. Apparent-

11 *The Friend of Peace,* No. III.
12 *The Friend of Peace,* No. IV.

ly Christians are not even urged to refuse service in case of war. He is content with a condemnation of war in general terms and then depends on his program of education to abolish the institution itself. If society is once freed from this scourge it will no longer be a source of trouble to the individual conscience. Worcester's program is an idealistic social program. It goes farther in this direction than even the Quakers in their early history. After all, William Penn's warless world was to be achieved by first transforming men into sons of the "second Adam." But Worcester would remake the world by taking men as they are and educating them in the ways of peace. This philosophy has a ring much like that of contemporary pacifism. It has the earmarks of inspiration from the Age of Reason and the doctrine of the perpetual progress of mankind through his ever continuing enlightenment.

One of Noah Worcester's associates in the Massachusetts Peace Society was William Ellery Channing, also a prominent figure in the American Peace Society organized in 1828. Because of Channing's influence on the religious and social thinking of the nineteenth century, his views on peace and war are especially significant. Channing, even more than Worcester, anticipates the later development of popular, idealistic pacifism. He is not a nonresistant. He does not believe that all wars are unjustifiable. If the nation should be attacked he would aid in the repulsion of the enemy.[13] War is bad, "but national subjugation is a greater evil than a war of defense." It is true the Scriptures say, "Resist not evil." But the Bible must be interpreted reasonably. To observe this precept literally would be to prostrate the civil government itself, for "The very end and office of government is to *resist* evil men."[14] There are times when war is justified. "When the spirit of justice, humanity, and forbearance, instead of spreading peace, provokes fresh outrage, this outrage must be met and repressed by force."

So there may be times when the dignity of a state requires engagement in war. But this must always be done wisely, "with a full consciousness of rectitude and with unfeigned sorrow."[15] Such a war may be pursued with an assurance that God is with those who wage it, and will defeat the enemy for them. "Let God determine the defeat of an enemy, and we need not fear that means will be wanting. . . . If God be for us, no matter who is against us."[16]

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[13] Channing, *Discourses on War*, pp. 13-14.

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 30.

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 45-71.

[16] *Ibid.*, pp. 112-125.

There are occasions, however, says Channing, when the function of government is perverted to illegitimate warfare by ambition, avarice, and greed. Government then ceases to benefit society and the citizen must strive for a restoration to its proper sphere. The Scriptures command subjection to authority only so long as the latter functions properly. When this ceases the government loses its rights, and if it becomes too bad, force may even be used as a last resort for its destruction.[17]

This position is clearly very different from that of nonresistance. Channing approves the use of force by the civil government for the repulsion of an enemy, as well as by the citizenry against the government itself when the latter becomes evil. The nonresistant position rejects the use of force under all circumstances, and enjoins passive submission to the authorities in all its requirements except when the latter are contrary to the commands of God. In such a case disobedience is justifiable, but it must be a passive disobedience.

Channing's pacifism, therefore, is merely an opposition to aggressive war. In this sense his program is a modest one. But like Worcester he hopes to build a warless world through education for peace, which is an ambitious social program. Unlike the nonresistant, he is little interested in the individual's refusal to co-operate in time of war. It is his concern to change the social order so that the individual will not be asked to participate in war. Channing finds the causes of war in such forces as love of excitement, passion for superiority, false patriotism, and false notions of national honor. These are standards which need to be changed. Nations must learn the principles of true national honor which include ability to bear wrongs generously and to have confidence in one another. This can be achieved through education. Right ideals must be promoted. The admiration of men must be turned "from military courage to qualities of real nobleness and dignity."[18] "A new reverence for man" must be developed. The national spirit must be replaced with a growing humanity.[19]

If these things are done Channing is sure the desired results will be achieved. For even now, "The tendencies of civilization are decidedly towards peace." "The influences of progressive knowledge, refinement, arts, and national wealth are pacific. The old motives of war are losing power. Conquest, which once maddened nations,

17 Channing, *Discourses on War,* pp. 112-125.

18 *Ibid.,* pp. 15-44.

19 *Ibid.,* pp. 3-14.

hardly enters now into the calculation of statesmen. The disastrous and disgraceful termination of the last career of conquest which the world has known is reading a lesson not soon to be forgotten." The growing intelligence of the middle and lower classes is making them increasingly reluctant to be used as war materials. The development of culture, science, and religion are drawing the nations closer together so that old antipathies are waning and the idea of brotherhood is growing. Public opinion in favor of peace is spreading and to this force all the states must bow.[20]

Channing is spokesman for a school of religious idealists having great faith in man and his possibilities for progress. He and Worcester represent a new type of Christianity. Inspired by the eighteenth century philosophers and the idea of progress, they looked for the immediate dawning of the golden age through intellectual and social enlightenment. And in so doing they definitely pointed the way to modern religious liberalism and to what might be termed popular idealistic pacifism.

In this early nineteenth century peace movement, however, we find a variety of doctrines and points of view. The position of David Low Dodge is especially interesting, because of its striking difference from that of Worcester and Channing. Dodge printed two pamphlets, in 1809 and 1812. His New York Peace Society, founded in August, 1815, was probably the first peace society in the world, although organized only a few months before that in Massachusetts.

David Low Dodge presents a unique combination of ideas. He was a Presbyterian, a Calvinist in doctrine, and a nonresistant biblicist who rejected the state and the social order of this world as fully as the nonresistant sects ever did. His early training was very religious, being brought up on Watts' *Divine Songs* and the *Shorter Catechism*. His two elder brothers died in the Revolutionary War, an experience which practically wrecked his nervous mother and left a lasting impression on the mind of the young David.

In 1812 Dodge published a treatise called *War Inconsistent with the Religion of Jesus Christ*. The ideas expressed therein are in some respects no different from those of Worcester and Channing. He believes education for peace will be helpful. One section of the pamphlet sets forth the inhumane character of war; another its unwisdom; and a third its criminal character. With all this, even the believers in defensive war would agree. But in a fourth section, which answers certain objections to pacifism, he declares emphatically for biblical nonresistance. The Gospel forbids resist-

[20] Channing, *Discourses on War*, pp. 45-71.

ance with deadly weapons, he says. Since this is true, he who saves his life or that of his family by killing an assassin loses his soul. But he who loses his life for Christ's sake is sure of everlasting life. "Thus the Christian if he is killed, goes to heaven; but the assassin, if he is killed goes to hell, and the soul of the slayer is in danger of following." Hence the mere fact that nonresistance might bring the loss of one's life is no argument against it, for resistance might bring the loss of one's soul, which is worse. Dodge is sure, however, that he who conscientiously holds to the nonresistant doctrine is in no great danger of violence. He knows of no instance where a nonresistant has been murdered by a robber.[21] No doubt he believes that God in His providence will take care of such an individual. This idea would hardly be acceptable to the believer in self-defense, but it is as reasonable as Channing's idea that God's providence will bring victory to those engaged in a just war.

In his biblicism Dodge is thoroughly consistent. When it is pointed out that in Old Testament times the Hebrews engaged in war with God's approval, he agrees. But they lived under a different dispensation from the Christian. If in the Christian dispensation God should command men to go to war it would be right for them to do so, he says. But he has commanded otherwise and therefore it is wrong.[22]

For an understanding of Dodge's position his first pamphlet, *The Mediator's Kingdom not of this World: But Spiritual,* is even more important than *War Inconsistent with the Religion of Jesus Christ.* In this work he draws a sharp line of demarcation between the Church and the world. Christ's Kingdom is distinctly not of this world. He did not accept the offer of Satan, the ruler of the world.[23] He took no part in the affairs of worldly government. He refused to act as a judge to divide the inheritance of an estate, when requested to do so. The Kingdom is founded in righteousness. It is opposed to war and all forms of contention. Its laws are the same as those which govern the heavenly hosts. They require love to man. They prohibit rendering of evil for evil. "Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father in heaven is perfect." Opponents may not be repressed by force. The mediator alone has the rights of an avenger. "Vengeance is mine, and I will repay, saith the Lord."[24]

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21 David Low Dodge, *War Inconsistent with the Religion of Jesus Christ* (Boston, 1905 ed.), pp. 77ff.

22 *Ibid.,* pp. 87ff.

23 Luke 4:5-8.

24 Dodge, pp. 130-32.

In the world order, as Dodge sees it, there are two great kingdoms arrayed against each other. One is the Kingdom of Christ and the other the Kingdom of Satan, who has the governments of this world under his sway. Between these two systems there is a great conflict in which Satan will control all earthly governments until Christ in a mighty battle overthrows him and binds him for a thousand years.[25] The subjects of Christ's Kingdom, according to the view of Dodge, are strictly forbidden to use worldly weapons. They must manifest a spirit of love and forgiveness, for "If ye forgive not men their trespasses, neither will your Father forgive your trespasses."[26] From this viewpoint it is obvious that subjects of the mediator's Kingdom should not participate in worldly politics. In fact Dodge interprets the great harlot of the Apocalypse[27] as the corrupt church, maintaining illicit intercourse with the kings of the earth. A chaste woman is the symbol of the true church, and an unchaste woman a symbol of the corrupt church in intercourse with worldly kings.

Dodge admits that worldly, political Christians will regard this doctrine with contempt. But he does hope for a candid hearing from true Christians. "How humiliating is it to see subjects of the King of Zion engaged in the drudgery of the prince of darkness, laboring and struggling to support his tottering throne! . . . How inconsistent is it . . . for the citizens of the heavenly Zion to be mingling with the politicians of this world and uniting in their processions, feasts, and cabals, when they ought rather to be praying for them, that the very sins they commit in these scenes may be forgiven them! Dear brethren, is it not high time to come out from the world and be separated? 'Be ye not unequally yoked together with unbelievers: for what fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness? and what concord hath Christ with Belial?'[28] 'Wherefore come out from among them, and be ye separate, saith the Lord, and touch not the unclean thing; and I will receive you, and will be a Father to you, and ye shall be my sons and daughters, saith the Lord Almighty'."[29]

Here is a voice among the workers for peace with a note all its own. Its author is opposed to war; he is a thoroughgoing nonresistant; he has separated himself sharply from the world; and he has

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[25] Dodge, *War Inconsistent with the Religion of Jesus Christ*, pp. 135-7, The biblical basis for this view is found in Rev. 19 and 20.

[26] *Ibid.*, pp. 137ff.

[27] Rev. 17:1.

[28] II Cor. 6:14-15.

[29] Dodge, pp. 164-165. See II Cor. 6:17, 18.

little faith in the goodness of the social order. He does not share the belief of religious liberalism that the institution of war will be eradicated through an evolutionary process of enlightenment. He is issuing a call to Christians to come out of the world and join the body of the elect in preparation for the kingdom to come. And yet Dodge had sufficient faith in the process of education to organize the first peace society in the world and to play an important role in the movement for peace in the early nineteenth century.

Another peace leader of importance during this period was Adin Ballou, the Universalist clergyman, reformer, and founder of Hopedale community. Ballou was neither a conservative biblicist like Dodge, nor a mere liberal theologian with mild pacifist views like Channing and Worcester. He had a radical turn of mind and became a leader of separatist movements. His Hopedale community was one of many such utopian societies organized during the thirties and forties. The members of the community agreed "to establish an order of human society based on the sublime ideas of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man as taught and illustrated in the Gospel of Jesus Christ."[30] Their attitude toward the state is manifest in their pledge to abstain from all political and civic activities, including the elective franchise.

Ballou's *Primitive Christianity and its Corruptions* includes a chapter on Christian morality and civil government, in which he describes the Christian as living on a level above the remainder of humanity. He defines civilization as the average advance of mankind. In its organized form it is known as political society. It is the function of civil government to maintain order in this society and "to promote the improvement of its constituents as far as public opinion and common co-operation render this practicable."[31] But above this general level the government cannot operate. Whatever is done on the higher level must be left to individuals, to outside associations, and to Providence. True Christianity dwells in this area. Its banner is on the mountain top, above the tented field of civil government. It proclaims the law of perfect love and compromises with nothing short of this. Hence Christians must be mindful of two things. First, to keep themselves free from entanglements in worldly politics. And secondly, not to be a hindrance to civil government in the prosecution of its own work, on its own proper level, for the temporary good of society.[32]

30 Quoted in *Dictionary of American Biography*, I, p. 558, article "Ballou, Adin."
31 Adin Ballou, *Primitive Christianity and its Corruptions*, II, p. 192.
32 *Ibid.*, pp. 189ff.

Ballou is not an anarchist. He recognizes government as natural, God-ordained and necessary, on its proper level. So it should be respected and must not be resisted or treated with contempt or violence—not even when it is oppressive and wicked. When government is in the right it should be cheerfully obeyed. In matters morally indifferent there should be conformity to it. When its requirements conflict with the precepts of Christ there must of necessity be disobedience. But this must be "always with unresisting, meek submission to whatever persecutions or penalties might be imposed."

But Christians cannot hold positions in the civil government, nor invoke the aid of its military and penal power. To do so would be to nullify the central Christian doctrine of perfect love, and to sink Christian morality to the level of Jewish rabbis and pagan philosophers. The New Testament does not instruct men to seek political office, nor to prosecute cases at law, nor to call on the government to lend penal or military assistance, nor even to defend property or life. Of course, in case Christians are taken into custody and arraigned in the courts they may rightfully plead their cause and claim the privileges of a fair trial. Neither does the New Testament forbid Christians to serve the government in any capacity which involves no sacrifice of principle nor responsibility for governmental resort to force. But there were not many such opportunities in Christ's time and there aren't many now.[33]

If someone objects to this nonresistant philosophy as antisocial, Ballou says its adherents perform a greater service to society than do those persons who participate in politics. "Would not persons of the moral and religious type I have indicated do quite as much good to a town, state, or nation, and at as little cost, as an equal number who should manipulate and manage party politics,—vote, hold office, execute legal penalities, and fight in and for the government? In the name of truth, justice, and common sense, I ask if they would not be the very best class of subjects which a town, state, or nation could have within its jurisdiction? These inquiries could receive only an affirmative answer from any reflecting, candid, rightly disposed individual."[34] This does not mean that those wedded to our worldly political system are to be despised. If they honestly occupy that low moral plane and aspire to nothing higher, let them do the best they can for God and humanity with political machinery on the lower level. But Christian morality is vastly superior to this and those who adopt it and live by it, "are the most

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[33] Ballou, *Primitive Christianity and its Corruptions,* pp. 193ff.
[34] *Ibid.,* p. 201.

advanced and the wisest leaders of mankind to their divinely ordained destiny."[35]

Ballou recognizes his radical philosophy as objectionable to unregenerate and spiritually undisciplined persons. But he replies that if Christ had not included this doctrine in His teaching, the fundamental requirement of His religion, which is love, would have been invalidated. The idea of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man would have been undermined and Christian morality degraded to a level with other religions and philosophies, and its distinctive character destroyed. Admittedly, this standard of nonresistance is too difficult for the attainment of most people. For this reason it was not addressed to all mankind indiscriminately. Christ knew that administrators of civil government could not obey the law of perfect love until society "should outgrow and abandon all dernier resorts to deadly force." Eventually, if the true Church remains faithful, all of society may be elevated to the level where this exalted doctrine of nonresistance will be universally acceptable.

This is Ballou's challenge to Christian people. "The high calling of this Church was to stand morally at the front of the procession of humanity, to lead it on to a truer righteousness, to leaven it with regenerating influences, to salt it with divine principles, to show it 'a more excellent way', and so gradually convert it to pure Christianity and thereby bring in the Kingdom of God."[36] But it will be a slow and painful process. Nonresistants should not "assume that the indiscriminate multitude can be brought to practice that 'love which worketh no ill' as easily as they can be induced to espouse the Temperance, Anti-Slavery, Woman's Rights, and other secular moral reforms." There must first be a "radical regeneration of human opinions, feelings, customs, and institutions; a regeneration to be obtained only through a long process of enlightenment, moral growth, and spiritual development." Christ began to build His moral superstructure at the bottom, not at the apex.[37]

This study is brief and very much limited. It should be sufficient, however, to suggest possibilities for research in the history of pacifist theory. The nineteenth century peace movement produced few conservative, nonresistant biblicists like David Low Dodge. This view was generally confined to the strict religious sects who did not venture into the peace movement. Of thoroughgoing non-

35 Ballou, *Primitive Christianity and its Corruptions*, p. 202.

36 *Ibid.*, p. 180.

37 *Ibid.*, p. 182.

resistants with a philosophy somewhat less biblical than that of Dodge there were a number. In addition to Ballou one might cite William Lloyd Garrison, Elihu Burritt, and Henry C. Wright. Any complete study of the pacifist theory of this period would necessarily include Henry David Thoreau who must apparently be classified as an anarchist. By far the largest class, however, is that represented by Worcester and Channing who were relatively mild in their personal views on pacifism, but greatly optimistic as to possibilities for reconstructing the social order by the gradual evolution of enlightenment until the war system itself is eradicated. It is this type of thought which had the greatest influence on the future of the peace movement. In the later nineteenth century, and in the twentieth, the movement has been led by educational and religious idealists who look toward the elimination of war as an institution through the onward march of social intelligence.

In recent years this school of thought has been attacked by such writers as Reinhold Niebuhr who considers the hope of the idealists an illusion. Niebuhr in his *Moral Man and Immoral Society*[38] insists that while it is possible for individuals and small intimate groups to hold high moral standards such as that envisaged by the idealists, it is not possible for society as a whole to maintain them. He believes individual vices have a way of compounding themselves when people are united in large social groups, and that the idealistic moralists and religionists are hoping in vain for the gradual conquest of egoism by rationality and good will. In other words we are not on the way to general social harmony; justice in the social order can never be achieved without the use of force. This view is apparently a product of the disillusionment which followed the World War and the world-wide economic catastrophe, with its accompanying political and social reverberations. It may be only a passing phase, but recent developments in the religious world, particularly the growth of the Barthian school in Europe, suggest that we may be at the beginning of a new era in which the optimistic idealism of the past century will be replaced by a more realistic or even pessimistic philosophy.

[38] Reinhold Niebuhr, *Moral Man and Immoral Society*, New York, 1932.

EDITORIAL

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do under fire if the test of another war comes, is difficult to say. Perhaps a review of the experience of earlier peace movements will help to answer that question. The earliest peace movement on the American continent was one with a distinctly religious foundation. But within "religious" pacifism there are widely differing points of view, at the present time, as well as in earlier times. Dr. Hershberger of the editorial staff of the REVIEW has rendered a distinct service in analyzing the position of five outstanding religious pacifists of the nineteenth century in his article in this number of the REVIEW. The editors hope that he will continue in the coming issues to contribute discussions of this type which will aid in an evaluation of the various types of pacifism current today. Dr. Hershberger is Professor of History at Goshen College and chairman of the board of directors of the recently organized Goshen College Peace Society.